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THE
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Volume IX

Number 1

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Biographical mention of SAMUEL JAMES READER will be found on p. 26.

A biographical sketch of ALFRED LEE RUNYON appears on pp. 58-60.

ROBERT C. RANKIN, resident of Lawrence and member of the Kansas House of Representatives from the eleventh district, was the 1938-1939 president of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Identification of the Stranger at the Pottawatomie Massacre

JAMES C. MALIN

ON THE night of May 24-25, 1856, John Brown, with four sons, a son-in-law and two other Kansas settlers, made a raid on Proslavery settlers on Mosquito creek and Pottawatomie creek, killing three Doyles, Allen Wilkinson and William Sherman. At the time a special congressional house committee was in Kansas investigating the Kansas troubles. It consisted of John Sherman of Ohio and William A. Howard of Michigan, both Antislavery in sentiment, and Mordecai Oliver of Missouri, a Proslavery Democrat. As the Pottawatomie massacre occurred after the date of the appointment of the special committee the Antislavery majority took the ground that these outrages were outside the scope of their powers. The minority member, Oliver, differed, pointed out that the majority had taken testimony concerning this class of events in Kansas when it supported their partisan purpose, and therefore he insisted that the Pottawatomie massacre be investigated, and on his own responsibility took affidavits of Mrs. Doyle and her surviving minor son, Mrs. Wilkinson and James Harris, who was employed by the Sherman brothers, of whom there were three, Henry, William and Peter, "Dutch Henry," "Dutch Bill" and "Dutch Pete." These papers were printed with Oliver's minority report, and regardless of the merits of the controversy among the members of the committee at the time, the historian owes to Mordecai Oliver a deep debt of gratitude for his stubborn partisan insistence that these be made a matter of permanent record.

In the affidavit of James Harris, whose testimony applied only to the incidents surrounding the murder of "Dutch Bill," he stated that three men were spending the night at his house: William Sherman, John S. Whiteman, and "the other man I did not know. They were stopping with me that night. They had bought a cow from Henry Sherman, and intended to go home the next morning." When John Brown's band entered Harris' house, the men were taken out separately and questioned. Harris omitted comment on Whiteman, but the stranger and Harris himself appear to have given answers satisfactory to John Brown and were returned to the house. Henry Sherman was the man especially desired, but he was absent search-

ing for cattle, and the last man taken out was William Sherman, who did not return. His body was found the next morning on the edge of Pottawatomie creek with the skull split open and part of the brains washed out by the water. As the "John Brown Legend" grew during later years, Free-State men attempted assiduously to discredit Harris' story, saying that undue influence was used in securing his affidavit, and that he told quite a different story privately to Free-State men. The allegations of Free-State men must not be taken too seriously, especially as Harris and others left additional affidavits of the same tenor as his original. In filing claims for losses amounting to \$375, suffered during the civil war of 1856, and making proofs by witnesses before the Strickler commission in 1857, Harris made affidavit October 23 charging John Brown with stealing from him a horse, saddle, bridle and gun on the night of the Sherman murder, and, significantly, because of threats against his life, with forcing him to abandon his remaining property and to seek safety elsewhere. A neighbor, Minerva Selby of Anderson county, made affidavit to the losses saying that Harris came the next day and told of the robbery and murder, and Selby confirmed the charge of threats against Harris' life. Martin White made an affidavit also, and one which is most explicit concerning the problem of Harris' testimony:

Know that the petitioner was greatly alarmed; seemed to apprehend danger from the murderers of Sherman, as the petitioner was at the premises of Sherman when the act [murder] was committed. The petitioner expressed his fears of being killed to prevent his divulging the murder. Believe he was in danger of being murdered. The safety of himself and family required him to leave his home.¹

Peculiarly, there has been little interest shown in the identity of the stranger, or whether he existed except in Harris' affidavit, and if he was a real person whether he became known and gave evidence against the murderers of the Pottawatomie which would corroborate that of Harris, or whether his testimony would discredit Harris. The little that has been said about him is associated primarily with the historical reminiscences of James Christian. In May, 1858, Christian and James H. Lane announced the formation of a law partnership, with offices at Lawrence. The political set-up is familiar to all who understand practical workings of law firms that specialize in political law business. Lane was the outstanding Free-State lawyer-politician in Kansas, and James Christian was a prominent

1. H. J. Strickler, *Report* [on Kansas claims], *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 43. Claim No. 52, pp. 88-90. [Pub. Docs. 1016, 1017.]

Democrat, or so-called Proslavery lawyer of the territory. The firm was ambidextrous, therefore, and could meet any legal emergency where a judicious use of political influence might be of advantage to the success of clients. Such a background in any case, and especially in connection with the notorious Jim Lane, is not at all prepossessing as qualifying Christian to speak on so controversial a matter as John Brown and the Pottawatomie massacre. After the days of Kansas troubles, however, Christian served in the union army during the civil war and continued in the state as lawyer and newspaper man, and in spite of the fact that he was a Democrat in Republican Kansas, he was held in high regard. This later reputation offsets somewhat the earlier stigma. Christian's story was that—

Jerome Glanville was the man who was stopping at Dutch Henry's² on the night of the massacre, and was taken out to be killed, as the others were. On examination he was found to be only a traveler, but was kept a prisoner until morning and then discharged. He informed me personally who were the principal actors in that damning midnight tragedy, and said that the next morning, while the old man raised his hands to Heaven to ask a blessing, they were stained with the dried blood of his victims. For being too free in his expressions about the matter he [Glanville] was soon after shot in his wagon, between Black Jack and the head of Bull creek, while on his way to Kansas City.

There are some differences between this version and that of Harris. The latter said the stranger had bought a cow, and the former said that he was "only a traveler." Harris did not record that the stranger was taken away when Brown's party left, and implies quite definitely that all who were in the house remained. He said that two men had been left in the house to guard Mrs. Harris, Whiteman and the stranger, when Sherman was taken out, and at a signal, this guard departed. Christian's story of the bloodstained hands adds dramatic quality to his story, but is not essential to the main issue, and scarcely rings true.

The only one of the major biographers of John Brown to recognize the existence of Christian's story is Sanborn, who made a footnote of it, with the sneering introduction that it rested solely on the authority of a Kansas Democrat.³ Villard ignored the whole issue.⁴ Among the lesser and distinctly controversial biographies, Connelley dismissed the whole story with bitter invective, and to give plausi-

2. As James Harris was employed by Sherman and lived in Sherman's house or at least in a house at Sherman's place, Harris had referred to the house as his in the sense that he lived there, but Christian referred to it by Sherman's name as owner. The Sherman boys were bachelors.

3. F. B. Sanborn, *The Life and Letters of John Brown* (1885), pp. 269, 270, footnote.

4. O. G. Villard, *John Brown: A Biography Fifty Years After* (1910).

bility to this view, seized only upon that doubtful part of the Christian story which deals with the bloody hands.⁵ Mrs. Charles Robinson gave Christian's story its widest publicity in the appendix to the tenth edition of her *Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life* (1899).

Historiography is occasionally enlivened by accidental discoveries of laymen, and on the afternoon of July 27, 1904, while walking across a vacant lot at Penn street between Forty-first and Forty-second streets in Kansas City, Mo. (south of old Westport), one W. H. Gibbens noticed a fragment of stone. It was inscribed: "To the memory of Jerome H. Glanville; born 1825, murdered by four Yankee Abolitionists on Bull creek, in . . . [?]"⁶ The final part of the inscription was broken off. The stone was a mystery and the news item came to the attention of G. W. Brown of Rockford, Ill., where it was printed in the *Morning Star* of that place, July 31. G. W. Brown had been editor of the *Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, during the Kansas troubles, was a notorious character whose reputation for truth was somewhat tarnished, had been deeply involved in the bitter and degrading controversies of the early 1880's over John Brown and was again involved in unseemly controversy, principally with W. E. Connelley, over the same subject, and was being financed and encouraged by Mrs. Charles Robinson of Lawrence. He jumped at the opportunity offered by this discovery and wrote a letter published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, August 4, 1904, identifying the stone with the Glanville of the James Christian story, but added no new information, beyond the fact that the identification gave the fragment of tombstone a definite significance, and was interpreted as giving support to the verity of Christian's story.

In another letter, one printed in the Rockford (Ill.) *Morning Star*, December 11, 1904, G. W. Brown declared that the murder occurred in June, 1856. At this time he made the additional error of saying the four were John Brown and his three sons. The Christian letter had been written originally to G. W. Brown in January, 1880, in response to Brown's "Reminiscences of Old John Brown," these being published serially in the Kansas press. It seems peculiar that Brown in both of these newspaper letters of 1904, should have quoted the Christian letter from Sanborn's extract instead of the whole from his own original. Possibly the original had been lost.

G. W. Brown's intervention in the matter was the opening signal

5. W. E. Connelley, *John Brown* (1900), pp. 203, 204.

6. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, July 28, 1904.

for controversialists to enter the lists against him. August Bondi, a Jewish speculator and friend of John Brown in 1856, had made the mistake several times of recording his supposed reminiscences of the "Old Hero," and now branded G. W. Brown's first letter as pure fiction and related two stories of his own. One that the Browns intercepted George Wilson [probate judge of Anderson county] and another man, took them to camp, but on the intercession of Theodore Weiner, one of the John Brown massacre party, let them go free on the promise of Wilson to leave the country. Bondi claimed to have had this story from George Wilson himself in 1857, and from Weiner himself at Orson Day's cabin May 24 [?], immediately after the massacre. Secondly, Bondi insisted that the Browns could not have followed Glanville, that they were not out of Douglas and Franklin counties between May 24 and June 15, that he and Weiner left for Leavenworth June 15, that Weiner left the territory for St. Louis, and that he himself returned to the Brown community July 2 and had dinner with Brown at Orson Day's cabin.⁷

There is one quite simple answer to Bondi, besides the fact that there is little if anything in his story that is true, and that is, that the whole of his letter was quite beside the point. Christian's story implied that the murder of Glanville occurred very soon after the Pottawatomie massacre, and Bondi based his whole refutation on that assumption, and went further, insisting that to be true it must have occurred prior to June 15. In this limitation of the time element Bondi was controlled by his claim that he had received an account of the Glanville episode directly from Weiner, and Weiner left the territory June 15. The net result of the encounter between G. W. Brown and August Bondi was that the substance of G. W. Brown's identification of the Glanville tombstone with the Glanville of the Christian story stood as completely unchallenged as before Bondi intervened.

The most interesting aspect of the Glanville death problem was that there was no need to make such a mystery of it. It was all a matter of contemporary record, except the actual date of his death. G. W. Brown's *Herald of Freedom*, November 8, 1856, carried the story of "Another Base Murder."

A Free State settler residing on the Ottawa Creek, on Saturday last [November 11], while traveling on the highway towards Westport, Mo., for provisions, was beset near Roger's residence, at the head of Bull Creek, was robbed,

7. August Bondi to G. W. Martin, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, August 9, 1904.

then shot and left for dead. The ball entered the back, at the side of the spinal column, and passed through the body a little below the heart. He was found a few hours after by a party of teamsters, and was taken to Westport. There is no probability that he is now living. The assassins are said to be a party of Georgians who are encamped in the vicinity, and who are attempting to carry out their threats of extermination against the Free State settlers. We call upon Gov. Geary to inquire into these facts, and take immediate measures to disperse and bring to justice the gang of outlaws who are again laboring to set the country in an uproar.

On the same day that this was being published in Lawrence, the *Star of Empire*, a Border Ruffian paper in Westport, Mo., printed a story of the same incident, but with a different coloring. Glanville was identified by name and it was stated that he was shot at Bull creek by Abolitionists and had been brought into Westport November 1, and was recovering from his wounds. This Border Ruffian sheet, usually discredited by historians, fortified its story by publishing the affidavit of Jerome H. Glanville, sworn November 6 before Justice of the Peace A. Street, Kaw township, Jackson county, Missouri. The affidavit stated that he was from Preston county, Virginia, and lived on Ottawa creek (northern Franklin county or southern Douglas county, Kansas) and on Thursday, October 30, was on his way to Missouri on the Santa Fé road, when four men overtook and passed him east of Prairie City (near present Baldwin, Douglas county). At the time they passed him he was talking to a party of surveyors. He heard that the four had robbed McCamish farther east on the road and they returned and waited for him at a point about one hundred yards west of Bull creek. Two rode up on each side demanding that he stop and deliver his money. His oxen did not stop quickly enough, but he made an attempt to reach his rifle and fire, but was shot from behind and the four fled. He declared that "I think these four men who attacked me belonged to Captain Brown's company, the notorious Abolitionist of Osawatomie." Glanville thought that he had been betrayed by a neighbor, who just before he started asked him where he was going, and on being told that he was going to Westport for flour, galloped off.⁸

By the time the Leavenworth *Herald* had received both the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Star of Empire* with the conflicting versions of the same story Editor Eastin was in a mood to write a scorching editorial on Free-State journalism, pointing out that Glanville was a Proslavery man and had been "attacked by a party of [John] Brown's thieves, who call themselves Free-State men," and then

8. This is taken from *The Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, November 15, 1856, which copied it from the *Star of Empire* of November 8. A file of the Leavenworth paper is available for this period, but none of the *Star of Empire* seems to have been preserved.

"this is the way that the outrages of that party are covered up. [G. W.] Brown manufactured the lie, to do away with the effect of Glanville's affidavit."⁹

It should be born in mind that, according to the accounts referred to, Glanville was still living. No account of his death has been found in the available newspaper files, although the local Westport paper may have recorded it. The fragment of tombstone picked up in Kansas City in 1904, assuming that it is genuine, and there seems to be no reason for a contrary view, did not have the date of his death. Summing up the evidence to this point it is obvious that the Bondi story is eliminated completely. If Christian's story were true, then the time which elapsed between the Pottawatomie massacre and the attack on Glanville was longer than he implied, although careful reading of his statement demonstrates that he set no time limit. Glanville's affidavit did not identify positively the attackers as Captain Brown's men, but he stated explicitly that he thought they were. This was November, 1856, and John Brown had left the territory the first week in October and was at Tabor, Iowa, October 10, was in Chicago October 25-26, started back toward Tabor to overtake two sons October 27, and was in Chicago December 1, and did not operate in Kansas again until the summer of 1858.

It would seem that the trail had been lost and that any attempt to connect the attack on Glanville with John Brown had failed in all aspects of the case. The appearances are deceptive, however, and the principle recognized in criminology and popular detective yarns holds good in history, that there is no perfect crime. Immediately after the Pottawatomie massacre in May the settlers on Pottawatomie creek, irrespective of views on the slavery controversy, assembled, denounced the crime, and pledged themselves to bring the criminals to justice. Those were not idle resolutions adopted at that meeting as some historians have alleged. Free-State men who had been associated closely with John Brown's movements on the expedition which started to the assistance of Lawrence on May 21 under John Brown, Jr., and from which the elder John Brown's massacre expedition had branched off, appeared before "bogus" Proslavery territorial law officers and swore out affidavits, and warrants were issued on these affidavits for the eight men guilty of the murders.¹⁰ One only of the eight was arrested, was promptly

9. *Leavenworth Kansas Weekly Herald*, November 22, 1856.

10. Some aspects of these events and further data on the affidavits are discussed by the present author in "The Hoogland Examination," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VII (May, 1938), pp. 133-153. The full discussion of the John Brown massacre cases in the United States courts is reserved for another time and place.

indicted by the grand jury for murder, and subpoenas were issued for the necessary witnesses for both the prosecution and the defense. All was done in proper legal form. The chronology of these events is as follows: James Townsley was arrested November 22, 1856,¹¹ the indictment was filed November 29, and the subpoenas for witnesses issued December 3 and later. One subpoena called for two men, John Wightman and "— Glenville" as witnesses for the prosecution. It was endorsed by Deputy Marshal Fain on December 10, that Wightman could not be found and that "Glenville" was dead.¹² One interesting error was made by the territorial prosecutor's office in drafting the papers. Glanville's name was on the list of witnesses for the James P. Doyle murder, rather than for the William Sherman murder, for which he would have been a material witness. As the indictments for each of three murders were drawn separately and the accused seems to have been brought to bar to answer to all indictments at one time, the error may not have been important. Two events preclude an answer to the difficulty, the death of Glanville and the fact that for unknown reasons the cases never came to trial.

Some points still need to be explained. Glanville was attacked October 30, and Townsley was not arrested until November 22, but this does not necessarily eliminate the possibility of the attack on Glanville being for the purpose of preventing him from testifying as a witness to the Pottawatomie affair. Governor Geary had been greatly aggravated by the persistence of disorder in southeastern Kansas after he had pacified northern Kansas, and decided to make a personal tour of that region, starting from Lecompton October 17. He spent considerable time in the war-torn region of Dutch Henry's crossing, Osawatomie and Paola. On October 21 he was at the crossing hearing all versions of the Pottawatomie creek murders, but his minutes preserved a discreet silence concerning what he learned that day. Proceeding on his way toward Fort Scott he was overtaken on the morning of October 24 by the news that a band of Free-State men had followed in his rear and attacked the house of Judge Briscoe Davis, whom he had visited the day before. Such an "impudent outrage" could not be overlooked and he canceled his Fort Scott visit, turned back, sending troops in all directions on the trail of the outlaws with instructions that all meet that night at Dutch Henry's crossing. No prisoners were taken on this day's search, but the

11. "Executive Minutes" of Governor Geary, report of U. S. Com. Edward Hoogland, dated November 29, 1856, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, pp. 652, 653.

12. All the documents mentioned are in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, in the collection of papers of the U. S. district court for Kansas territory.

governor claimed he knew the guilty parties and issued an offer of \$200 reward for their capture.¹³ No names were mentioned, however, but in subsequent identification, the leader of the party was Capt. James H. Holmes and others of the party were men whose names are recorded also on John Brown's own roll of enlistments in his Kansas military band. During the early part of the governor's tour he had made some arrests, but his chief interest had been pacification and reconciliation. The Davis episode changed all that and he sent Commissioner Hoogland and U. S. troops into southern Kansas to clean up. Hoogland had made his start November 15 and his concluding report of November 29 has been mentioned above. The governor's investigation of affairs at the crossing October 21 followed by the man-hunt resulting from Holmes' raid on Davis' house on October 23 provides sufficient motive for members of the Brown gang to wish all witnesses of their crimes removed, even though John Brown himself had left the territory. According to Harris and his friends, he had escaped a similar fate only by abandoning his home.

Incidentally the examination of this episode reflects several elements of significance. Free-State attempts to discredit Harris' affidavit receive no support from the subsequent developments, and on the contrary, the implications are in his favor. Christian's reminiscences of 1880 made the explicit identification of the stranger and of the motive for his murder, and affords a rare instance where the principal facts of a reminiscence about John Brown seem to be supported by contemporary recorded facts, except for the dubious bloody-hands story. Christian emerges as a more reliable writer of old settler's reminiscences of the Kansas troubles than most of his Free-State contemporaries. A third point is that in this instance the Border-Ruffian press, even the sensational *Star of Empire*, proved more reliable than the Free-State press,—a conclusion most unorthodox among American historians.

In the strictest sense, it may be argued that the identification of Glanville as the stranger at Harris' house on the night of the Pottawatomie massacre is based upon circumstantial evidence. Harris' affidavit mentioned Wightman and a stranger as present, the subpoena in question linked the two names Wightman and Glanville, in the same document as witnesses for the prosecution and separate from the other witnesses, most of whose names were endorsed on one of the several indictments of James Townsley. If this was

13. Geary's "Executive Minutes," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IV, pp. 617-620.

coincidence, it was a most remarkable one, and especially in view of the findings of the present author that the territorial officers had made a most thorough investigation of the Pottawatomie massacre, and within a few days of the event knew definitely the name and identity of every one of the eight participants in the crimes. Free-State men coöperated and supplied the necessary affidavits on which the warrants were issued. Any mystery that surrounds the matter turns not on the question of identity, but on the reasons why they were not brought to justice. In view of all of the circumstances, the investigators should have had no difficulty, and apparently had none, in identifying the stranger of Harris' affidavit and calling as a witness the man who had bought the cow of Henry Sherman May 24, and presumably took her away on Sunday, May 25, after the discovery of Dutch Bill's body in the creek, and the bodies of the other four murdered men and boys in the immediate neighborhood. All the evidence taken together, even if it does not constitute absolute identification of the man and the motive for his murder, certainly approaches the border-line where circumstantial evidence becomes direct proof.

Jim Lane and the Frontier Guard

EDGAR LANGSDORF

KANSAS was admitted to the union as the thirty-fourth state on January 29, 1861. On April 4 James H. Lane and S. C. Pomerooy were chosen by the state legislature to be United States senators. On April 12 Fort Sumter was attacked, and two days later surrendered to the troops of the secessionists. On April 15 President Lincoln issued his first call for 75,000 volunteers. The Civil War had begun.

The state of Virginia secretly adopted a secession ordinance on April 17. Maryland was in revolt, and seemed on the point of seceding also. The District of Columbia, lying between the two, was in an extremely vulnerable position, an easy target for bombardment and liable to be starved out if the railroads running from the north through Baltimore were cut off.

Precautions for the defense of the capital city were, of course, taken immediately. Volunteers were enrolled to fill the District's militia quota, government clerks were formed into military units, and state militia from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts—quickly followed by those from other Northern states—were under arms and en route to Washington almost before the first cannon roar at Sumter had ceased to echo. The Washington correspondent of the *New York Daily Tribune*, writing on April 12, reported that the city had resembled a military camp for two or three days. The correspondent continued:

If Ben McCulloch and his Rebel band is not a myth but a reality, their ardor must have been dampened by the patriotic exhibition of the last sixty or eighty hours. The capture and sacking of Washington will be no holiday amusement for the empty-headed and rotten-hearted rogues who, if we credit rumor, have confederated to seize upon the White House and the Capitol. . . . By the time this letter will appear in your columns, about two thousand troops, regulars and volunteers, all picked men, will be on duty in this city. . . .¹

In addition to political and geographical circumstances, defense of the capital was complicated by military difficulties. The United States army suffered great loss by the resignation of many high officers, including Brig. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, the quartermaster-general, Samuel Cooper, the adjutant-general, and Col. Robert E. Lee, the favorite aide of the commander in chief, Lt. Gen. Win-

1. *New York Daily Tribune*, April 16, 1861.

field Scott, and the man favored to take over active field command of the armies in the event of wide-spread warfare. At no time was there a large number of troops in Washington, and optimistic reports of the Northern press to the contrary, there was certainly not enough now to withstand a determined assault by the Southern forces. True, there were ample volunteers to fill the militia quota, the clerks might have been able to hold off a siege of government buildings until the arrival of the state troops which were expected daily, but few of those in Washington had had military experience or could be counted on in an emergency. The New York *Daily Tribune*, interviewing a long-time resident of Washington who removed his family to the North when trouble came, quoted him as follows:

Half the people inside the city are friendly to the Southern leaders. Everywhere I boldly heard secession sentiments proclaimed; ladies rejoiced over the downfall of Sumter, and the wife of a clergyman told me triumphantly . . . , "Now you see what *we* can do!" This is the greatest danger to Washington, and it is one nothing can overcome. The soldiers who have volunteered in the city are nine-tenths of them boys, and would not make any show at all if attacked. You would be indignant to hear the open reproach and ridicule cast on the Massachusetts troops. It is said they *ran* all the way through Baltimore merely from a mob of unarmed men; and it is said with great gusto that all they had to do was to knock a Northern soldier down and take his musket from him.²

Rumors spread through Washington that the city was to be attacked, the government buildings and offices taken over by the Southerners, and the President captured and held prisoner. Extraordinary measures were necessary.

Jim Lane, who always loved a fight, must have licked his chops when he walked into the middle of this uproar to take up his duties as senator. Action and excitement were meat and drink to him. He had offered a bodyguard of Kansas men when Lincoln was ready to start for Washington to be inaugurated, but the offer was declined.³ Conditions were different now, and a guard might be useful.

Because of the inauguration of a new administration and the approaching session of congress, Washington was more heavily populated than usual with office-seekers. Many were from Northern and Western states, and Kansas had her full share. Senators Lane and Pomeroy, arriving in Washington on April 13, took rooms at Willard's hotel, and in the evening began to make speeches. Pom-

2. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1861.

3. John Speer, *Life of Gen. James H. Lane*, 2d ed. (Garden City, 1897), pp. 234, 235.

eroy, recalling these events many years later—and none too accurately, said they spoke from a dry goods box in the street in front of the hotel, himself first and then Lane. When Lane climbed up on the box there came a great shout from the mob, which consisted chiefly of Southern sympathizers: "*Mob him! Mob him! Hang him!*" Lane, naturally passionate and excitable, was terribly aroused, said Pomeroy. His eyes flashed, and his tremendous voice was elevated to its highest pitch. "Mob and be damned!" he shouted, "mob and be damned! I have a hundred men from Kansas in this crowd, all armed, all fighting men, just from the *victorious* fields of Kansas! They will shoot every damned man of you who again cries 'Mob,' 'Mob.'" Then the other side cheered him heartily, and the click of cocking pistols was heard all through the crowd. Order was restored, and men stood deathly still, for no one seemed to know who stood next to him.⁴

Lane and Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, the United States minister to Russia, "after an evening or two of flaming speech-making,"⁵ organized some of this excess population into two companies, the Clay Battalion and the Frontier Guard, the latter commanded by Lane. Enrollment in the Guard took place on April 14, and organization was completed within a day or two.⁶ There are said to have been 120 men in the Guard, but only fifty-one of the names are now known.⁷

Because the Frontier Guard was a voluntary and unofficial organization, serving without pay, they were not mustered into regular army service and their names were never placed on the army rolls.⁸ D. H. Bailey, a member of the Guard and later consul-general to China, said in an interview many years afterwards that about the time the Sixth Massachusetts regiment was attacked by a rebel mob in Baltimore, Maj. David Hunter of General Scott's staff called on Lane at the Willard hotel. He explained that because of the turbulent condition of the citizenry and the few troops in Washington, as well as because of secret information that an attempt was to be made to seize the President and overturn the gov-

4. "The Times of War and Reconstruction: Reminiscences by Hon. S. C. Pomeroy," in "Kansas Biographical Scrap Book," "P," v. VI, pp. 144, 145. Hereafter cited "Reminiscences." These reminiscences were written in 1886-1887 and printed in an unidentified newspaper. They are frequently unreliable, especially in points of detail.

5. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, a History* (New York, The Century Co., 1890), v. IV, p. 106.

6. *Senate Report No. 337*, February 20, 1890, 51 Cong., 1 Sess., Ser. No. 2704.

7. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 419.

8. Statement of Richard C. Drum, adjutant general of the United States, in 1882, in MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

ernment, General Scott and Secretary of War Simon Cameron wished Lane to use his company of Kansas men for the especial protection of the President. Runners were sent out immediately to call the Kansans to Lane's rooms. On the night of April 18 at nine o'clock they marched to the White House and bivouacked in the East Room.⁹ This account is born out in general by a contemporaneous report in the *Leavenworth Times* which was reprinted in the *Lawrence Republican* on May 2, 1861, and in the *Council Grove Press* on May 11.

Arrived at the White House, the company was furnished with arms and ammunition. It was a strange scene. A gleaming sword was presented to Lane by Major Hunter. Well-fed Senator Pomeroy, enrolled as a private, could not find a belt long enough.¹⁰

. . . After spending the evening in an exceedingly rudimentary squad drill, under the light of the gorgeous gas chandeliers, they disposed themselves in picturesque bivouac on the brilliant-patterned velvet carpet—perhaps the most luxurious cantonment which American soldiers have ever enjoyed. Their motley composition, their anomalous surroundings, the extraordinary emergency, their mingled awkwardness and earnestness, rendered the scene a medley of bizarre contradictions—a blending of masquerade and tragedy, of grim humor and realistic seriousness—a combination of Don Quixote and Daniel Boone altogether impossible to describe. . . .¹¹

An account by "One Who Was There" gives the following description of the scene in the East Room:

This well-known resort is one of the most beautiful and magnificent halls in the country. Such a post of honor, on such an emergent occasion—for the President had heard the rumor that day that himself and Gen. Scott were in danger of assassination from a Virginia party that night—was no ordinary compliment. Other companies, of no little notoriety and experience, were in the city, but this distinction was reserved for Kansas.

That night, Kansas had supreme possession of the White House, and fifty of her "Old Guard" slept sweetly on the President's rich Brussels, with their arms stacked in martial line down the center of the hall, while two long rows of Kansas ex-Governors, Senators, Judges, Editors, Generals and Jayhawkers were dozing upon each side, and the sentinels made regular beats around them. . . .¹²

The New York *Tribune's* Washington correspondent wrote that "Jim Lane, the well-known," and his company had bivouacked in

9. *Emporia Daily News*, November 20, 1882; also in the *Weekly News*, November 23. See, also, Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 238; Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, v. IV, p. 106; *New York Daily Tribune*, April 19, 1861.

10. *Emporia Daily News*, November 20, 1882. Pomeroy himself said later that because he could not find an army uniform belt long enough to go around him, he had to cut a hole in one end of the strap and splice it with string—to the great amusement of those present.—"Reminiscences," v. VI, p. 143.

11. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, v. IV, p. 107.

12. *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, May 9, 1861.

the East Room, which presented, "on the occasion, anything but a full dress appearance, but in the event of fighting the guests would show they were meant rather for use than for ornament. . . ." ¹³ Not even Mr. Lincoln, said "One Who Was There," was allowed to come into the room. "Even the President, when he attempted to enter the hall, accompanied by his lady and some members of the Cabinet, was pricked with the sharp steel of the sentinel, and told,—perhaps jocosely—that *he could not possibly come in!*" ¹⁴

The formation of the Frontier Guard was noted, usually enthusiastically, by most of the Kansas press. Brief notices first appeared in their telegraphic dispatches: "The Kansas men in Washington have formed a company of 75 men called the Frontier Guard. They have been given the post of honor of the East room of the President's House!" ¹⁵ A similar note had been printed in the New York *Daily Tribune* on April 19. The Leavenworth *Conservative*, in a paragraph headed "Old 'Jim' Guards the Flag," said:

It will be seen by our telegraphic report that Gen. James H. Lane has been called upon by the War Department to take charge of one thousand Union Guards in Washington. It does not surprise us that the Defender of Freedom in Kansas is honored with a high position the moment he arrives at the seat of Government, and we are now willing to bet our last cent (dollars are played out in Kansas) that *Washington will not be taken*. When old Jim gives the word, "Up, boys, and at them," there will be an awful scattering among the rebels. ¹⁶

The Lawrence *Republican* wrote in the same vein:

What Kansan won't feel proud when he reads the telegraphic dispatch, that the post of honor of Guard at the White House, has been given to a company from Kansas? We imagine we see a few of the old "Free State" men surrounding Gen. Lane in that honorable position. Dr. Updegraff, who was badly wounded at Osawatomie, and Turner Sampson, and G. A. Cotton, and many others, who went through the Kansas struggle are at Washington, and will not be wanting in an emergency. Hurrah for the Kansas boys! ¹⁷

The Council Grove *Press* of April 27, 1861, reprinted from the Leavenworth *Times* this somewhat skeptical comment:

The telegraph reports that Gen. Lane is engaged in more active and earnest employment than securing official favors for his friends. He has been placed at the head of 1,000 troops, and a dispatch to the Cincinnati *Commercial* says

13. New York *Daily Tribune*, April 25, 1861.

14. *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, May 9, 1861. Cf. extract from Washington (D. C.) *Evening Star*, April 19, 1861, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 420.

15. Council Grove *Press*, April 27, 1861. Few Western papers at the time had direct wire service, and Washington news was ordinarily copied from letters and exchanges. The *Press*, for example, frequently took its "flash" news from Leavenworth papers.

16. April 18, 1861. Reprinted in the Council Grove *Press*, April 27.

17. April 25, 1861.

he intends to resign his place in the Senate. We do not credit the latter statement. Gen. Lane has no doubt tendered his services to the Government, but we doubt whether he has as yet been commissioned as a regular officer, or assumed any position that will require him to give up his seat in the Senate.

Sol. Miller, the acid-tongued editor of the White Cloud *Kansas Chief*, who was seldom friendly to Lane and had no respect whatever for Pomeroy, the other senator, remarked:

The Kansas office-seekers now in Washington, have formed themselves into a military company, called the "Frontier Guards," for the defence of the Capital. Pretty good idea, as they will thus have their board paid by the Government, besides advancing their chances for office by a show of spunk and patriotism. They may do well enough, as long as Lane commands; but wo unto them if they place themselves in Pomeroy's clutches—he will surrender them to the enemy, as he did the Free State people of Lawrence, in 1856! ¹⁸

Other Kansas newspapers printing reports of Lane's military activities included *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, April 18; the *Daily State Record*, Topeka, April 19; the *Topeka Tribune* and *Leavenworth Conservative* on April 20.

The Frontier Guard remained in service until May 3, 1861. By that time Washington was filled with union troops and danger of a Southern attack was removed. The Sixth Massachusetts regiment, the first of the relief, had entered the city on April 19, and the New York Seventh arrived on April 25. Thereafter other regiments came in, communication with the North was assured, and the volunteers were no longer needed. As it proved, no very decisive action was required of the Guard at any time, its chief function being to assist in protecting the White House and other important points.

One "engagement" with the enemy, however, has been recorded. A few days after the Guard was mustered into service, while they were on duty at the Long bridge over the Potomac between Washington and Virginia, it was reported that a company of rebels was at Falls Church cross roads, about seven miles from Alexandria, Va. Lt. J. B. Stockton, with a detachment of men, was ordered by Captain Lane to make a reconnaissance in that direction. "Upon their approach the rebels fled, leaving their flag, which was captured and brought back, being the first flag taken [by the union forces in the Civil War]. . . ." ¹⁹

18. May 2, 1861. The last statement is a reference to the surrender of the Free-State cannon and other arms to the mob under Sheriff Samuel Jones which sacked Lawrence on May 21, 1856. Pomeroy was acting as chairman of the Lawrence committee of safety which authorized the action.

19. *Senate Report No. 337.*

A more descriptive account of this incident is given by D. H. Bailey as follows:

Our company was the first to capture a rebel flag. It came about in this way: A report came that the rebels would make an attempt to capture the bridge across the East branch of the Potomac. We were ordered out one night in April. Marching down Pennsylvania avenue we were joined by Clay's company and marched thence to the navy yard. After a short halt the Frontier Guard filed out of the east gate across a ravine, and soon came in sight of the bridge. The moon was shining brightly and in the distance could be plainly seen a brass cannon near the draw. The writer happening to be in the front ranks went forward with palpitating heart expecting every moment to be cut down with grape and canister, but pride kept us all in line, although our knees smote together. At last coming full on the cannon we discovered to our immense relief that it was a gun of a Pennsylvania battery, and it was pointing toward the Maryland shore. This inspired us with courage. We urged Lane to have the draw lowered so that we might cross the river and scout for the enemy. Finally he assented and a detail of twelve or fifteen was sent across. Dividing the squad we pushed out on different roads and scouted the country for three or four hours. No hostile foes were found. One squad led, I think, by Harry Fields,²⁰ discovered a rebel flag flying on a pole in front of a house. The owner was aroused and ordered to haul the flag down. This he refused to do, but doggedly gave them permission to take it down if they wanted to do so. The flag was immediately hauled down, brought back with considerable exultation, and the next day it was stretched across the avenue opposite Willard's hotel, with a great placard inscribed: "Captured by the Frontier Guards." The prowess was not great, but the thing captured was a trophy.²¹

Kansas papers carried only brief mention of this adventure, and that gleaned second-hand from Eastern publications. The *Emporia News*, for example, said on May 4, 1861: "A dispatch to the *N. Y. Herald* says that Gen. Jim Lane is guarding the navy yard against rumored resigned incendiary naval officers, and has made several scouting expeditions into Virginia, during one of which he captured a secession flag. . . ." Another account took for its source a Washington paper:

The "daring exploits" of the "Kansas desperadoes" in Washington . . . is thus reported by the *National Republican*, a paper published at the Capital.

Reports reaching the city last evening that large numbers of rebels were assembling and fortifying the heights on the Potomac, Gen. Lane's battalion of Kansas men were stationed on the approaches as a salutary restraint. A scouting party, under Captain Stockton, found a secession flag on a staff in a yard, and forcing an entrance, cut down the pole, and brought the flag in. It may be seen at Gen. Lane's rooms, at Willard's, and bears the following inscription: "Virginia—Palmetto—Southern Star."²²

20. Henry C. Fields, of Leavenworth.

21. *Emporia Daily News*, November 20, 1882; *Weekly News*, November 23.

22. *The Independent*, Oskaloosa, May 8, 1861.

For its services the Guard received the personal thanks of President Lincoln.

The Frontier Guard, under the command of Gen. Lane, of Kansas, who have for the last week been stationed in and around the White House, by invitation of President Lincoln, waited upon him yesterday afternoon [April 26], at the Executive Mansion.

The company formed at Gen. Lane's headquarters at Willard's hotel, to the number of one hundred and twenty, and marched, under the direction of their leader, to the President's.

The Guard was ushered into the East Room and formed around it in double file.

Upon the President's entrance, the Guard was introduced to him by Gen. Lane, who also introduced Col. Vaughan,²³ of Kansas, as the orator for the occasion, who addressed him in substance as follows:

Mr. President: Permit me to introduce to you the Frontier Guard, a company formed under the leadership of Gen. James H. Lane, for the protection of the capital of the nation, at a time when great danger threatened the liberties of this our common country.

A large proportion of them have been in situations of trial; when the dark cloud of peril overshadowed our Western borders, under the command of their gallant leader they rallied around the stars and stripes, and drove the invader from their soil.

And now, once again, in this our darkest hour, they respond to our country's call, and offer their lives and all they have to support the Constitution and vindicate the majesty of the law.

You and I, Mr. President, (pardon me for using my name in connection with yours,) you and I are Southern born, and although deprecating the shedding of fraternal blood, yet if this Government under your administration is preserved, there are thousands of our brethren at the South, Union-loving and true men, who if they can be protected, will flock to the flag of the nation, and rally around the glorious stars and stripes, and aid us in preserving them intact and pure, and handing them down unsullied to our posterity. And I doubt not, sir, there are many even in my own native state of South Carolina, that yet love this Union, and who dare not speak, for treason and disunion are abroad in the land, and their hands are tied.

It is the response of every man here, and I am instructed by them to say, so far as they are concerned, *No compromise with rebels.*

And now, sir, the Frontier Guard holds itself subject to *orders*. Should their services be needed in any capacity, to assist in the enforcement of the laws of the country, to preserve inviolate the Constitution of the United States, they are ready. Brave and true men are here, who have been proved in times of trial and danger and found to be equal to the task and ready for any emergency. Although some of us propose to leave the city if our services are no longer required for its security, yet, if necessary, every man will be at his post to protect it.

Permit me once more to introduce the Frontier Guard.

23. John C. Vaughan, of Leavenworth, was listed as a private in the company.

The President replied briefly, thanking the Guard for services performed, and for the patriotic feeling which prompted their efforts. After the very pleasant interview, the Guard marched back to Willard's, and exchanged compliments with each other, and adjourned till the next meeting.²⁴

This Dickensian description marks the last appearance of the Frontier Guard as a unit. Lane had written under date of April 27 to Secretary Cameron that, "in consequence of the arrival of large numbers of troops in this city, I am satisfied the emergency has ceased that called our company into service. If you concur in this opinion, I should be pleased to receive authority from you to disband said company, and to honorably discharge the members thereof from the service." Cameron replied, on the same date, that he agreed with Lane, and gave him the requested authority. In doing so, he said, "I beg to extend to you, and through you to the men under your command, the assurance of my high appreciation of the very prompt and patriotic manner in which your company was organized for the defence of the Capital, and the very efficient services rendered by it during the time of its existence."²⁵

Lane left for the West on April 28. Newspaper reports said that he was dispatched to assist in organizing volunteers west of the Mississippi river, and would doubtless take an important command.²⁶ On his way home he made a speech in Chicago, where he "showed a secession flag which he had captured in Virginia, and endeavoring to wind up with a devout peroration, rather mixed things, saying—'Great God, grant us success in this our righteous cause, and may we—may we—take all the starch out of these d----d rebels. Amen.'"²⁷

He came back to Kansas less than a month after he had left it. On Thursday, May 9, he spoke to a crowded house in the Congregational church at Topeka. Said the *Topeka Tribune*:

The General's remarks were inflammatory to a high degree. He had returned to Kansas for the purpose of assisting in forming two regiments of volunteers. Parts were manufactured of whole cloth; especially so, when he said that Missouri had declared war upon Kansas; that she had done so when the arms belonging to us were seized at Kansas City and at Liberty. Thought it would be the prettiest thing in the world for Kansas to pitch into Westport, Independence and Kansas City, while the secessionists were trying to take St. Louis. Thought that the Hannibal & St. Jo. Railroad might cut off com-

24. *Lawrence Republican*, May 9, 1861. Mentioned in Washington (D. C.) *Evening Star*, April 27, in *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 420.

25. Copy of letters forwarded in 1882 to Kansas State Historical Society by R. C. Drum, adjutant general of the United States, in MSS. division.

26. *Emporia News*, May 11, 1861, citing a dispatch from Washington to the Cincinnati (Ohio) *Commercial*.

27. *Council Grove Press*, June 22, 1861, quoting from the Boston (Mass.) *Post*.

munication, and then, while Illinois was cleaning out Hannibal, Kansas could clean out St. Jo. Said the Secretary of War had not made a requisition upon Kansas for troops, but that the speaker (Gen. Lane) had been authorized to come here and assist in organizing troops, who would be mustered into the U. S. service immediately. The General's patriotism was immense. He never knew until then how much he loved his country. Paid a compliment to Gen. Pomeroy, and wound up by wishing all present, long life, health and happiness.

The editor, having thus summarized Lane's remarks, made a few of his own:

If it is the object of Gen. Lane, in so soon returning to our State, to travel over the country making inflam[m]able speeches, arousing the public mind, and drawing our people from their workshops and farms, for the purpose of making war upon Missouri, our people had better ask him to go back to Washington, where there is some chance for a fight, and leave the good citizens of Missouri and of Kansas to pursue their peaceable avocations.

Every-day mails bring us tidings of peace from the State of Missouri, and those of our people who prefer peace and prosperity to civil war, will not follow a leader who will exert every effort to bring about the latter.

We have been cursed enough by "war" and "famine"; let us now seek to retrieve our fallen fortunes, by engaging in good works, and refrain from stirring up strife with our sister States. We are not weak, but we need all our forces in the field and in the shop.

If an invasion is made upon our soil, then will be the time to take up arms; and a second call will not be necessary to bring our forces into the field to repel invasion. The State has the arms and her patriotic citizens are ready to meet and drive back any and all invading forces that may enter her limits.²⁸

This editor, John P. Greer, was opposed to Lane's meddling in state matters, both political and military, and lost no opportunity to attack him. In the same issue he wrote:

The return of Gen. Lane is the return of gasconade and humbug. He has filled our community with a thousand conflicting statements as to his authority and his appointment, by the President, to do this thing and do that, none of which are true, or can be true, in the nature of the case. To suppose them true is to suppose the President and Secretary of War to be fools, fit subjects for the mad house.

The fact that Gen. Lane retails such absurdities in the community is conclusive evidence that he takes the people of Kansas to be idiots, or that he is one himself.

In another column he added: "Genl. Lane did not appear in his native garb Thursday night, viz: Suspenders and socks. He only doffed his overcoat and neckerchief."

Old Jim had an enemy in Lawrence, too. When he spoke there

28. *The Topeka Tribune*, May 11, 1861.

on Saturday, May 11, the editor of *The Kansas State Journal* reported the event as follows:

This gentleman made a characteristic address to our citizens on last Saturday evening. He was full of good humor, and shook his long bony finger at the audience in the old style. The only difference between this and his former speeches was that he took off only his cravat. He thought and spoke just as much as ever of Jim Lane, and seemed to think that now was the time to think more and more of him. He appealed to the Yankees present by telling stories of Yankee grit, *after* they got mad, and so on. He seemed to think that now was a good time to scare Western Missouri, by telling big stories and making great preparations. He seemed to think, (and we thought it was closely connected with his speech) that *he was going to drill the boys once more*. He concluded by saying that there was not *one* man in the city for whom he did not wish long life and happiness. (Deitzler was out of town!) Oh! General, you have an old head! but you may pass for war times.

This editor also stated in another paragraph: "Lane, in his Saturday night's speech remarked that the man who told the biggest lies now-a-days served his country best, and that God would pardon him of his sins! This accounts for Lane's political elevation. He claims the people have rewarded him for past service."²⁹

Newspapermen friendly to Lane said little in his defense at this period. The *Lawrence Republican*, quoting a dispatch on the organization of the Frontier Guard, prefaced it with some commendatory remarks:

We copy the following from the correspondence of the Leavenworth *Times*, to show the estimation in which "Old Jim" is held at Washington. The principal objection raised to Lane here was, his supposed want of popularity with our public men. All admitted his hold upon the masses here, but feared that he would not have influence abroad. It appears, however, that "Old Abe" puts his life in the hands of the men who so often risked their lives for the good cause here. Gen. Pomeroy and Col. Delahay buckle on their armor as privates. We should like to look in upon that squad just now. . . .³⁰

Several members of the Guard received discharges immediately after the company was disbanded. These are dated May 3, 1861, at the Executive Mansion, and include the correspondence between Lane and Cameron on April 27. The original discharge of Sidney Clarke, a private, later a member of the house of representatives from Kansas, is in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society, and is reproduced in its *Collections*.³¹ The Society also has a photostatic copy of the discharge issued to L. Holtslander, third sergeant, and John Speer, in his biography of Lane, printed a copy

29. *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, May 16, 1861.

30. *Lawrence Republican*, May 2, 1861; reprinted in the *Council Grove Press*, May 11.

31. *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. X, p. 418.

of still another, issued to Clark J. Hanks of Leavenworth. However, others of the company never received discharges, and some of those who did lost them.

Accordingly, several bills were introduced in congress in later years for an act to authorize the Secretary of War to issue formal discharges, and to place on file in the War Department the names of the officers and men of the company. During the first session of the 49th Congress, in April, 1886, Sen. Preston B. Plumb, of Kansas, introduced such a bill, which apparently died in the senate's committee on military affairs.³² In the first session of the 51st Congress he tried a second time. On December 10, 1889, he introduced Senate bill No. 1005, which was eventually passed, with amendments, on April 5, 1890, and sent to the house, where it died in committee.³³ A third and last attempt was made in 1894 by Sen. John Martin who, on December 10, introduced Senate bill No. 2372, presenting with it the favorable report made by the senate committee on military affairs in 1890. In this congress, again, the bill was passed by the senate and sent to the house of representatives, where the record ends.³⁴ Why congress failed to pass this bill, which seems to have encountered little specific opposition, is something of a mystery. Perhaps the failure was owing to lack of political pressure on the part of the bill's sponsors, or perhaps to a desire to cut down the number of prospective military pensioners. Still another possible reason may have been the irregularity connected with the enlistment of the Guard, since it was never mustered in. Officially, it would seem, the company never existed.

The whole story of Jim Lane and the Frontier Guard is a strange mixture of fantasy and fact. These American "beefeaters" seem, in the light of actual happening, like a corps in a comic opera, but there was nothing comic about them to their contemporaries. Jim Lane himself, as great a scapegrace as Kansas ever sent to congress, made himself a national hero by pure heroics. John Speer, his friend and most enthusiastic biographer, said that "this was the beginning of that intimate friendship" between Lincoln and Lane "which was never broken . . . except by the dissevering chords of death."³⁵ A somewhat more objective student of Lane's career, basing his view in part on Speer, remarks that although the contribution made by Lane and his Guard was a small one "it marked the beginning of

32. *Congressional Record*, v. XVII, Pt. 4, pp. 3461, 3466.

33. *Ibid.*, v. XXI, Pt. 1, p. 136; Pt. 2, p. 1526; Pt. 4, pp. 3062, 3326.

34. *Ibid.*, v. XXVII, Pt. 1, p. 151; Pt. 2, p. 1669; Pt. 3, pp. 2086, 2176.

35. Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

an intimate friendship with the President . . . which gave him a prestige and influence that continued throughout the war."³⁶

Whether the relationship between Lincoln and Lane can truthfully be described as an "intimate friendship," or even a friendship at all, seems doubtful. The characters and ideals of the two men were so wholly disparate that any close bond appears unlikely. The truth would seem to be that Lincoln was a practical politician, accustomed to work with whatever tools came to hand, and that Lane was an opportunist who could be used. Lane made every possible use of his position in Washington to work his way into Lincoln's graces, and by his importunities secured concessions which made it appear that Lincoln recognized obligations to him.³⁷ From the time he offered Lincoln a bodyguard, early in 1861, he was constantly on the President's heels. Lincoln himself is reported to have given this explanation to Gov. Thomas Carney of Kansas in 1864: "He knocks at my door every morning. You know he is a very persistent fellow and hard to put off. I don't see you very often, and have to pay attention to him.'" ³⁸

For those who are familiar with Lane's ambitions and moral qualities there is a temptation to sum up the incident of the Frontier Guard as a purely political maneuver, as Sol. Miller did, with the implication that it was no more than a selfish and personal raid on the glory box. Unquestionably there was a large element of the political and the personal in it. A true appraisal of the incident must consider contemporaneous circumstances, however, and cannot be swayed by partisan interpretations either of that time or later. It must be remembered that Washington in 1861 was in a condition of hysteria, and the Guard was a psychological factor of real importance in helping to calm the city's nerves, no matter what its military value may have been. If Jim Lane realized the exigencies of the moment and seized the opportunity to improve his personal fortunes thereby, the historian may at least credit him with common sense and a nose for political stratagem.

36. Wendell H. Stephenson, "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," *Publications of the Kansas State Historical Society* (Topeka, 1930), v. III, p. 105.

37. Cf. G. R. Gaedert, "The Birth of Kansas," *University of Kansas Publications, Social Science Studies* (Lawrence, 1940), pp. 145, 151, 152, 156, 157.

38. L. W. Spring, *Kansas* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1890), p. 274. Charles Robinson, Lane's bitter rival, repeats Spring's statement in his *The Kansas Conflict* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1892), p. 456.

The Letters of Samuel James Reader, 1861-1863

Pioneer of Soldier Township, Shawnee County

I. INTRODUCTION

ON JULY 26, 1855, Samuel James Reader,¹ a boy of nineteen, drove his claim stakes on a tract of land situated about a mile west of the now extinct Proslavery town of Indianola,² and about two miles northwest of present North Topeka. He and his sister Elizabeth had come to Kansas two months before with their Aunt Eliza and her husband, Joseph M. Cole, who purchased a claim adjoining the Indianola townsite. As a Free-State man, Samuel Reader took part in some of the border warfare and was with Gen. James H. Lane at the first day's battle at Hickory Point in 1856. He was a member of a Topeka militia company which fought against Gen. Sterling Price during the Confederate raid of 1864. He was captured in the Battle of the Big Blue but managed to escape a few days later while being taken to Texas for imprisonment. Aside from these exciting events he lived quietly on his farm.

Before coming to Kansas Reader was not greatly interested in education, and neglected an opportunity to attend college. However, after getting settled on the farm he continued a study of French, and acquired a working knowledge of shorthand, in addition to doing much reading. His early desire was to become an artist and he spent much of his spare time in sketching with pencil and brush.

When Reader was thirteen years old he began to keep a private journal, and from September 16, 1849, to a few months before his death on September 15, 1914, he faithfully recorded daily happenings. With the exception of volume I, covering a period of three and a half years or up to June 1, 1853, and volume IV from January, 1858, to January 25, 1860, which were destroyed by fire in April, 1890, the diary is complete. The books have been deposited with the Kansas State Historical Society by Elizabeth Reader, a daughter, who now lives in San Diego, Cal.

1. A biographical sketch of Samuel J. Reader may be found in George A. Root's "The First Day's Battle at Hickory Point," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, pp. 28, 29.

2. Indianola was situated at the crossing of Soldier creek, a mile and a half from one of Papan's ferry crossings on the Kansas river, and was on the road from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Riley. The land for the townsite was purchased by H. D. McMeekin of Louis Vieux, a half-breed, and the town was laid out in November, 1854, the proprietors being John F. Baker, H. D. McMeekin and George Perrin. A good frame hotel and other buildings were erected and the town attained quite a degree of prosperity, but like many of its neighbors, it was soon overshadowed by Topeka. It is now extinct.—A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1888), p. 534.

The diary is a unique historical document. The entries are a mingling of English, French and shorthand, illustrated in many instances with pencil, pen, and water-color sketches. In addition to recording everyday events Reader copied in his diary extracts from and summaries of letters to his father, his half-brother Frank, his half-sisters Mary Ellen and Martha in Pennsylvania, his relatives in Illinois, his Indianola friends at the front, and others. These letters, covering a period from January, 1861, to March, 1863, are printed below. They record the writer's views on national affairs and the conduct of the war, and they give interesting accounts of happenings in a typical Kansas frontier town.

II. THE LETTERS AS RECORDED IN THE READER DIARY

[To His Father, Francis Reader, in Pennsylvania]

[January 13, 1861.]

There appears to be a great excitement in the South in consequence of the election of "Old Honest Abe Lincoln" as president of the U. S. I hope the N[orth] will make no more compromises or in any manner directly or indirectly recede one inch from their present position; for there appears to be a daily increasing opposition feeling against Slavery, in the N and concessions to the S[outh] would not only be disgraceful to us but would not cure the matter at issue; as it would be sure to come up again at some future time and with perhaps more disastrous results to both parties. I must say for myself, that secession on the part of the S is viewed by me with much pleasure. Perhaps you will call these "treasonable feelings," but it is impossible for me to look with indifference on the monstrous and abominable system of human slavery in the S; and to consider that those men who uphold and try to perpetuate this enslavement of a weak and unfortunate people, are fellow citizens. I should look upon it as very little better were we confederated with Pirates & Robbers. But I have said enough about this matter especially as I rather think you will not agree with me in all my political ideas.

[To His Half-Brother Francis (Frank) Reader]

[March 25, 1861.]

You ask me how I like Lincoln's Inaugural address. On many points I think it is a very good one. There appears to be honesty in all he says: The views he takes of the decisions of the Supreme Court should be obvious to every one. But I think he is too sanguine in thinking the Seceded States can be brought back by holding the

forts collecting the revenue and acts of a like nature. They have left the Union, openly declared their independence and formed a "Southern Confederacy" and it seems very improbable to me that they can be won back by occupying a few military posts and fortifications along the seacoast. It would tend to exasperate but not subdue them; and actual coercion (which the President has wisely repudiated) would undoubtedly be successful in overcoming them, but disastrous in the end and wholly inadvisable. We have triumphed and ought to show ourselves generous victors. Anglo-Saxon blood courses in their veins the same as our own, and although they foster in their midst the most atrocious system the sun shines upon within the pale of civilization, we ought to remember that many of them have been taught from their infancy to look upon it as an institution by no means unjust or wicked. Therefore it is my humble opinion that they should be allowed to govern themselves as they see proper, thus exploding the idea they have, that they are so valuable to the North that we wish to keep them in the Union against their wishes for our own benefit, and also cast from ourselves the odium of being confederated with States advocating and practising human slavery. I know that the great majority of the Northern people are for saving the Union, but I should be in favor of principle and right before self interest or fear of dissolution.

The two great sections N & S are as unfit to live under the same government as Europeans and the Arabs of the desert to be governed by the same laws. As far as I can learn a man who is in favor of abolishing slavery is in danger of maltreatment and even death in the South; and the press, that index of intellectual progress and liberty is as jealously guarded as it is in despotic France while their publications and demagogues have the privilege of placing their arguments and opinions before the people of the North. Such I cannot call a Free government. You ask my opinion as to making an honorable Compromise with the slave states to bring them back in the Union. I will say that I am emphatically against any compromise whatever for no honorable one is possible while the South is in its present attitude. The N. has given way too much to them already for instance the Fugitive Slave law to which no man of genuine humanity would comply when brought to the test unless his mind should be biased in favor of the "Peculiar institution" or the fear of the law should outweigh his conscience. You have asked me to give my opinion on these questions and I have candidly done so. I am well aware that such sentiments are not

popular either N. or S., but nevertheless they are my honest convictions, although I may be in error.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[April 21, 1861.]

Dear brother

I received your letter about one week ago and would have answered it sooner but my business for the last few weeks has been of so pressing a nature that it became necessary for me to defer writing until the present. We are all in good health and we have but little sickness in the neighborhood.

Times are very hard and scarcely any money in circulation. The farmers have commenced their spring work, and every thing favors an abundant yield in consequence of several very fine showers a few weeks ago. Spring wheat looks remarkably well as far as I have seen but if it proves a failure this year I shall be tempted to give up experimenting upon it, as I have twice failed in Kansas and on the last trial lost the seed. For the last few days the news from the South have been of the most exciting character. It seems that Civil War with its attendant miseries will be upon us in a short time.³ As I said before, I am not sorry to see the secession of the slave states and should not like to see them brought back either by persuasion or force. At the same time this uprising of a powerful military force at the North may have the salutary effect of keeping the rampant Fire eaters from making a raid upon the Federal Capital, or some similar aggression upon the border Free States. Three companies have been raised at Topeka the other day and although the President has not called upon us for troops,⁴ the Gov. has offered 1000 men. Have you or do you intend to volunteer? What is your opinion about the justice or expediency of the Administration? Please answer these queries in your next letter. I believe I have nothing more of importance to write. My love to my Father my sisters and your self. Your affectionate brother

Samuel J. Reader

3. The confederate attack on Fort Sumter began April 12. The fort surrendered, and on April 15 President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 volunteers.

4. D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 317, reported that by April 25 military companies were organized in nearly every county.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[May 12, 1861.]

Indian &c

My Dear brother Frank

Day before yesterday I received a long and pleasing letter from you enclosed in a beautiful Union envelope. Your letter found us all well &c &c. But little war excitement exists in our little town. Indianola was laid out as a town site under Pro-slavery auspices and as a natural consequence the maj. of its inhabitants are Slaveryites and avowed secessionists. This clan (some of whom were active in co-operating with the Border Ruffian element of Mo. in the K[ansas] war), have been trying to get up an Independent Volunteer Co., and it has by some means leaked out that their intention is to organize if possible enough for a company, draw their arms from the state, and when Mo. secedes, which they confidently expect, they will be prepared to give them aid and comfort. In consequence of this disclosure a number of us, of the Republicans had a private meeting last Frid[ay] night, in which it was decided to watch these fellows and if they make any demonstration, to take necessary measures to crush out the design. It gives me much pleasure to hear that you have volunteered and that you hold a Commission in your company I believe it is the duty of every man to be prepared if it comes to the worst to give the traitors their just deserts. Bad as war is it is still better than subjection by the hands of the S rebels. When the Cotton States seceded, and a prospect of the rest of the Slave States following I felt the same relief that a person would in separating from another infected with an infectious disease; and for my part would have been willing to have let them alone in their iniquity believing that slavery would eventually die out of its self in the onward march of civilization, but it now appears that they want to inaugurate the "irrepressible conflict" in their own way by taking or destroying the National Capital and then carrying their arms north and subduing all before them. Let the issue then be squarely stated that all must be free or all slave states and let the fortunes of war decide. I was much interested in reading the comments on the 4 page of the N Y Tribune of last week. I begin to hope that slavery, the cause of our present troubles will receive a lasting and final overthrow. But I should not be in favor of confiscating the rightful property of the Secessionists in case they should be overcome. Many of them must necessarily be misguided and many more obliged to aid the traitors for fear of personal violence. Let the

punishment then fall on the heads of the ambitious demagogues and office seekers who started the movement. Jim Lane has returned to Kansas. He was at T[opek]a the other day. They say he has orders from Headquarters to retake the forts seized by the Secessionist Indians, and also forts in Ar[kansas]. He will find all the men necessary for the purpose in this state which will be several thousands— As Ar[kansas]. has seceded he will probably meet with considerable resistance in that State.⁵ You want me to answer the questions I propounded to you in my last. Here is my answer "I think as you do, that Lincoln has taken the right way and the only way he can take consistent with the position in which he is placed, to settle the difficulty, and all those hot headed men at the N who wish to hurry things along without reason, deserve the censure of all true citizens. I have not volunteered yet because we cannot get men enough in this neighborhood who are willing to volunteer to make a full company—(40 men)— And T[opek]a is so far that it is not possible for me to join a Co. there. I must close for want of space. Write soon &c. My love to all.

Samuel J. Reader.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[June 2, 1861.]

D. Bro:

I received your letter of May 21, on the 29th of the same month, and having a few leisure moments for the first time since its arrival have embraced them in order to answer your favor. We are all in tolerable health with perhaps a slight exception in the case of Sister E[liza]. who has not felt perfectly well for the last few days. In my last I gave you a flattering account of our prospects for a crop, but within a few days past the farming community have experienced much annoyance from the cut-worms. In some parts of the field I planted more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the corn crop has been destroyed. Of course replanting can be practiced to a certain extent but should these little pests continue their depredations 1 or 2 weeks longer we shall be in a very bad situation as regards farming. The weather has been wet and cool for the last few weeks. I have not seen the th're higher than 87° this year, (in the shade,) It stood at 111° one day last summer which you may well believe was *rather* warm.

5. It was reported that Lane had orders to lead a large force into Arkansas and to retake Fort Smith and all other government forts in Arkansas and Missouri.—*The Conservative*, Leavenworth, May 11, 1861. According to W. H. Stephenson, "The Political Career of General James H. Lane," *Kansas State Historical Society's Publications*, v. III, p. 106, "Lane had no military authority."

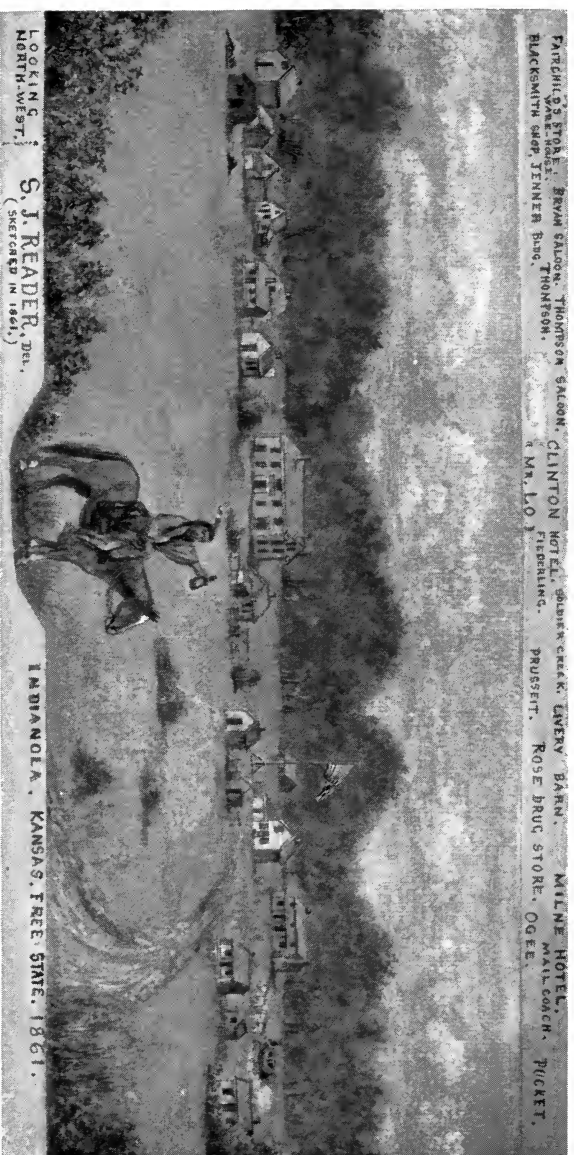
Our local news is not important. Only 1 reg[iment]. of K. troops has been accepted by the President.⁶ Many rumors are afloat in regard to the supposed movements of Gen. J. H. Lane, but nothing is definitely known about his future operations so far. A train loaded with arms and provisions was overhauled at T[o]peka. the other day. The arms were detained but the provisions were allowed to depart in peace. Some say the arms were being sent to the Indians in the S. part of K[ansa]s and others that they were destined to the western hordes of savages. The arms are in good hands now, at any rate. Last evening I attended a meeting for the purpose of getting up a Volunteer Company. It being the second time only that we have met for such a purpose. Fourteen gave in their names and we expect as many more will join at our next meeting. I was appointed one of a Committee to form our By Laws.

The Secessionists of this place keep remarkably quiet. One of their number got spirituously excited the other day and threatened to kill his wife with a hatchet and as no Crittenden Compromiser was present to adjust their difficulty, secession was a natural consequence, but I am happy to say a reconstruction of the Union has subsequently taken place and they can now carry on their "domestic institutions" in their own way. Perhaps this practical part of secession in their case was not so pleasant as the theoretical.

The latest news informs us that the President has called for 100,000 more men.⁷ Our Gov. cannot be blamed now for lack of energy at least. I am pleased to see you so enthusiastically attached to the Union and in this feeling I now *heartily concur* with you because I think the people of the North have their eyes opened at last and will not vent their just indignation so much upon the heads of our misdirected fellow citizens of the S. as upon their hateful system of Slavery. That and that alone I want to see destroyed root and branch!! I am also glad to hear that you are not troubled with traitors in your neighborhood I should be happy if I could make a similar assertion of *our* neighbors here. It appears that you intend to make a real soldier of yourself, and perhaps win glory on some bloody field, in sustaining the stars & stripes. Before this letter reaches its destination it may be that you have left Home and friends and marched out to battle against the foes of our Gov. under this last requisition for troops. I feel proud of my native State in

6. The first regiment of Kansas volunteer infantry was mustered into the service of the United States on June 3, 1861.—Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

7. On May 3, 1861, President Lincoln called for 42,000 additional volunteers for three years and added ten regiments to the regular army.—Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict* (Hartford, O. D. Case & Co., 1864), v. I, p. 528.



SAMUEL J. READER'S WATER-COLOR PAINTING OF INDIANOLA, AS THE TOWN APPEARED IN 1861

Now extinct, the town was located about two and one-half miles northwest of North Topeka. The Indianola pictured above does not correspond in every detail with the Indianola described in Reader's letter of August 31, 1862, which will be published in the succeeding issue of the QUARTERLY. The original drawing measures fifteen inches by seven inches.

the highest deg. for her patriotism and energy in the present crisis. I will be frank with you and say that I was almost as much surprised at the part taken by the Democrats N. in this struggle, as the slaveryites were themselves. I believed that if we came to blows with the S. the maj. of them would side with their party brethren or at the most stand neutral or give up everything in a base unmanly compromise. You made a just remark when you said you never wanted to see partyism so strong again. I am called a Rep. here but at our local elections I have several times voted for Dem's when I thought they were more competent or honest but I think I would consider a long time before voting for an avowed Pro-slavery man. Our troubles here in 56 & 57 have implanted in my mind a most un-Christian-like hatred towards our Border Ruffian invaders, aiders and abettors. Well it appears you have chosen a mercantile calling. It is without doubt a money making business if carried on properly. For my part an agricultural life has the greatest charms for me; more especially in so fine a farming country as K's possessing soil so rich and easy of tillage. Sister E[liza]. has not yet written to you partly on account of ill health, and in consequence of having most of her time employed in domestic affairs; her family being as you are aware tolerably large. So you must not think you are forgotten by her because of her silence. She will at the first favorable opportunity write you that long expected letter. She sends her love to you, her father and sisters. Dr. C[ampdoras]⁸ says he would like to go in the U. S. navy as Surgeon (that having been his business on board a F[rench] man-of-war) if he had no family, as he always felt better every way on the sea, than on land. He is a true Rep. in every sense of the word and shows a praiseworthy intention of supporting the Gov. of his adopted Country but I hardly think he will go out of the State as some apprehension is felt about the Indians on our borders.

I will close for the present by sending my love to all. Your affectionate brother.

S. J. Reader.

8. Marie Antonin Eugene Jaques Campdoras was born in France September 6, 1825. He served from 1845 to 1851 as a surgeon in the French navy. Forced to leave his native land because of his Republican convictions he arrived in New York in 1852. Several years later he came to Kansas and settled at Indianola where he resumed the practice of medicine. In 1858 he married Eliza M. Reader. Four years later he accepted an appointment as assistant surgeon of the Second Indian regiment and served for eighteen months before resigning on account of ill health. He continued to live in Shawnee county, farming and practicing his profession until his death on April 6, 1881.—Fannie Cole, writing in the *North Topeka Times*, April 29, 1881.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[June 23, 1861.]

Mon cher frere Frank:

Your letter of June 11 was duly received on the 19th, containing the joyful tidings of your excellent health & prospect of a bountiful crop. We are also in good health and I have not heard many complaints of sickness in the neighborhood. I have not heard of a solitary case of Chills & Fever yet. I dread it more than I do the traitors to our Gov. Our crops of all kinds look fine Spring wheat has headed out and promises an abundant yield if the weather continues dry so the rust will not attack it. Corn now looks well & is safe from the worms. Some of it however will have to grow fast to get out of reach of the early frosts. I have some that is more than 3 ft high and some again that is not 3 inches high.

But few persons have orchards here and those who have set out trees cannot tell yet whether this is a good fruit growing country or not. My uncle Cole planted a peach orchard and set out 50 or 60 apple trees four years ago. The peach trees were all killed by the frost close to the ground. The apple trees look thrifty but have not blossomed yet. It is probable that this soil on the river bottom is too rich and low. About $\frac{1}{2}$ of my claim is highland & all persons who have experience in such matters say it is well adapted for fruit trees. I have broken about 1 A. on one of the hills which is about 50 feet in height & intend to set out an orchard as soon as possible. Wild berries and grapes will be in abundance but the plums have about all "gone up." Our weather has been quite warm & dry for the last few days but we have no fears of another drouth this year as the ground is thoroughly soaked with our Spring rains. Times are hard & dull here as well as elsewhere but I do not think our mercantile men complain of the scarcity of money as much as they did last season. The other day our Gov'r called upon all patriotic citizens to organize and report themselves as there is great reason to believe that K. will be invaded by the Cherokees & Osages.⁹ Our most important news has been the taking of Independence Mo by U S troops and the defeat of Gov Jackson and his traitorous crew at Booneville,¹⁰ but of course you will get all such news quicker & more reliable than by me. You gave a very interesting a/c of your

9. Fearing an invasion from Missouri, Gov. Charles Robinson on June 17, 1861, called upon all good citizens to organize themselves into military companies of not less than 83, nor more than 101 men, rank and file, and hold themselves in readiness to enter upon active service at call.—*The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, June 20, 1861.

10. On June 17, 1861, General Lyon defeated Claiborne Jackson, Missouri governor and confederate commander, at Booneville.—Wilder, *op. cit.*

experience in camp life &c. I also received one of your local newspapers with a full a/c of the proceedings and upon the wrapper a device of our National flag with rather an unhealthy suggestion in regard to the traitor who should dare to tear it down. Well, we have plenty of fellows here who would not scruple to do it if they had a chance, but they are not so rampant as they were a few weeks ago and several of them have skulked into Mo. and joined the Secessionists there who call themselves the "State Troops" Our Company has been named "The Fremont Guards." We have a company drill every Sat. P M and intend to have squad drills every evening except Sat & Sundays. I was elected Orderly Sergeant of the Company as it was supposed I had some understanding about military matters, having seen some little service in the "K[ansas]. war," but my knowledge of such business is but limited.¹¹ At our first meeting 14 gave in their names and the number has steadily increased at every subsequent meeting. I have 34 names now on the muster-roll, & I know of several persons who intend to join. I think we may safely calculate upon having 50 members within 2 weeks. I believe I have no more to write. My love to all.

Saml J. Reader.

P. S. What views does our Father take on the present state of affairs? I should be very happy to know his opinion from himself if it would not be asking too much.

S. J. R.

[To His Uncle Samuel James of La Harpe, Ill.]

June 30, 1861.

S James¹² & all the friends:

The last letter from you was written to Lide and in it you said you had sent a letter to me some time before but which has never come to hand This letter of yours I answered but for fear it has never reached its destination I will repeat the most important parts: In regard to buying a right to sell washing machine we do not think it would pay here at this time &c &c We are all in pretty good health here and crops of all kinds look fine. Plenty of rain has fallen this season The people are not over excited here about the war. Our K[ansas]. news I need not attempt to give you as you can get it quicker through the telegraph. Our danger of an attack from the Indians S. traitors of Mo & Ark. is considered probable by many

11. A Free-State company was organized at Indianola February 9, 1856, with Joseph M. Cole as captain and Samuel Reader as first sergeant.—Reader's "Diary," v. III. Samuel Reader joined the Topeka company which went to the Nebraska line to escort Lane's emigrant train into Kansas territory. He left Topeka with the company July 29, 1856, and returned home August 9.—*Ibid.* For Reader's story, "The First Day's Battle at Hickory Point," edited by George A. Root, see *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. 1, pp. 28-49.

12. Reader's mother was a James.

but I have concluded that I can stay here as long as any other Abol't. A short time ago the Union loving people of the neighborhood organized a M[ilitary]. Com[pany]. called "The Fremont Guards." I was elected Orderly Sergeant, the same office I held in the "Frying Pan Guards" in 56: that Free State Company which was fierce in peace, and gentle in war. At our next meeting we will select our uniform. I have over 30 names on the Muster-roll and our number increases at every meeting. The company has *nary* breast plates yet. Please write on receipt of this and give all the news &c I can think of nothing more

My love & respects to all
S. J. R.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[July 18, 1861.]

D Bro.

It was with the greatest pleasure & I must add with considerable surprise that I received from you yesterday a letter dated in a Military camp [Camp Carlisle] informing me that you have enlisted for the war. If this war lasts as long as the Peloponnesian war of ancient Greece¹³ you will certainly have a chance to learn your trade well. I think you have acted entirely right and I expect to follow your example if a similar opportunity offers its self to me for our cause is certainly just & although war in the abstract is manifestly a great evil and presents many horrible & revolting features, it is our last resort to preserve our national existence. A great many members of the F[remont]. G[uard]s would not be willing to leave their families and property to the tender mercies of the Secessionists and enter into the service of U. S. so there is not much probability of our company reaping laurels on the battle-field unless our State be invaded of which there is some apprehension. I am sorry to say that two of our men have with drawn from the company when we came to take the oath; we are glad they have shown their true colors so soon. For several weeks past we have had the Stars & Stripes floating over our little town and one of our most rabid Secessionists hoisted a small Union flag for a few days. These fellows have been drawing in their horns lately. Still they use treasonable language that would not be tolerated in many other places. With out a doubt they will act as spies when Ben McCulloch or some other traitor Chief makes an attack on Kansas.¹⁴ It is a significant fact that the

13. The Peloponnesian war lasted from 431 to 404 B. C.

14. Ben McCulloch was a confederate general.

4 groggeries which Indianola can boast of every one is kept by a "Secesher" Intemperance is the special vice of this neighborhood and it was fortunate for me that I belonged to the Temperance Society before I came to this wild & lawless region as it has kept me perfectly free from this baneful habit so far (Crops &c.) The news from Mo. has been very exciting for the last few days, but as you are doubtless posted as soon as we it will be useless for me to write anything in regard to it I have nothing more of interest to write to you Receive my best love & respects and the wish that you may acquit yourself honorably in the new position in which you are placed and pass safely through the many dangers and hardships of a soldiers life. Your affectionate brother

Samuel J. Reader

P. S. In your next will you please inform me how the "National Infantry" has enlisted as Va. Volunteers, also what length of time you expect to remain in your present Camp What your daily duties are; your pay per mo. and all particulars that you think may be interesting to us civilians.

[To His Father Francis Reader]

[July 24, 1861.]

Dear Father

Last week I received a letter from my Brother written from C[amp]. Carlisle & dated the 11th July informing me that he had enlisted with his Company as Va V[olunteers] during the war. I received this intelligence with some surprise & I must confess with a great deal of pleasure and pride at the bold stand he has taken in this hour of our country's peril. This letter I answered almost immediately & the next day received another letter from F[rank] dated on the 8 but was probably delayed on account of disturbances in Mo. This last one was written just before he started on the "War trail" & from it I learned that you was strongly opposed to his enlisting & he as strongly bent on doing his duty to his Country. He greatly deplored the seeming necessity of acting in opposition to your will, but appeared to think his honor would be compromised and a disgrace thrown upon his relations should he remain at home while his comrades would in all probability be covering themselves with glory in the field. For myself I know that such a situation would be unendurable to me and second only to imprisonment & we being brothers it is likely our feelings are similar on this subject. Far be it from me to uphold or excuse dis-

obedience to paternal authority for the aged and experienced have the unquestionable right & ability to guide and direct those who are under age, nevertheless in such cases as this a great deal ought to be overlooked and excused. Perhaps I am a little prejudiced in this view for I must admit that during our troubles in Kan. my Aunt always tried to dissuade me from taking any part in them. She felt as much interested in seeing Kan. come in as a free state as my self, but did not wish to have me incur any of the danger in making it so. I felt differently and although it gave me pain to see her & my sister's uneasiness, I could not refrain from thrice shouldering my rifle to aid in keeping the blight of Slavery from our Territory. Had he wished to enlist into the Regular service I would myself have used every argument in my power to dissuade him from such a step, as many demoralizing influences would be thrown around him if I may judge from what I have seen of the Regulars in this part of the Country, but there is a vast difference between them and patriotic Volunteers of the N[orth] especially when they are composed of friends and neighbors from the same vicinity & commanded by a man like Capt. L. E. Smith whom F[rank] represents as a model of temperance & morality. Such being the case, personal danger is the only thing that ought to give us any uneasiness and in this all we can do is to trust in Providence & hope for the best. War is a terrible way of settling our difficulties, but from the action Congress has taken in regard to Slaves owned by traitors, the other day, I believe this war will finally be a blessing to Humanity & universal progress. I envy F. his place in our patriotic Army and ardently wish I could stand shoulder to shoulder with him in his Company in showing the aristocratic plantation Nabobs that the N[orth] can not be trifled with. Night before last we heard that McDowell's force was entirely routed by the Secessionists.¹⁵ We hear however from last night's mail that it is not so bad as was represented at first, still the best is bad enough. We are all in tolerable health only. Aunt E & both of her children were attacked with the headache last night but not seriously. For my part I am not in a condition to fight or fly should the enemy come upon us, as I have cut my foot with an axe the other day while making fence & I will be confined to the house for several days. Our weather is pleasant with plenty of rain. Corn looks fine vegetables are flourishing. The inhabitan[t]s here are not much excited about the war! We are used to civil war you know. The seceshers in Ind[ianol]a. are getting a little scared. One

15. The Battle of Bull Run occurred July 21, 1861. In this battle the union army under Gen. Irwin McDowell was routed by the confederates.

of the most rabid traitors of the lot was declaring his Union sentiments to the Dr [Campdoras] last night. He expressed himself as being very sorry for the slaughter of the Northern men at Bulls Run last Sund. These mushroom patriots have taken this step to avoid being taken care of by the T[opek]a boys as spies and dangerous subjects generally. While writing this letter I have received another from F dated July 2 and containing a miniature of himself in uniform My brother-in-law [Dr. Campdoras] and several others who have seen it think I resemble the m. strongly while my A[unt] & sister think otherwise. I look upon it as a great treasure at this time. This letter bears the post mark of Indianapolis Ind which accounts for its delay. I would write again to F[rank] immediately but hardly know where to direct If you write to him soon please mention the receipt of these two last letters. I have no more. Please write soon. I send my love to my sisters relatives & yourself. Your affectionate son Samuel J. Reader.

[To His Uncle Samuel James]

[August 4, 1861.]

Friends and Relatives:

I received a letter from Uncle S[amuel] dated July 25 the other day & now hasten to answer it We are all in the enjoyment of our usual health. Times are very hard of course but we will not starve this year certain. Our corn crop looks splendid and almost all vegetables the same. Wheat has been an average crop, I raised 1½ acres of Spring wheat but have not yet threshed it Aunt L[Eliza]. feels much better when she sees wheat stacks. The weather has been rainy for sometime past but is now dry and hot. It was over 100° yesterday in the shade. Ind[ianola]. has improved some. A hotel 60 x 40 was put up last Spring by a Pro-Slavery secessionist, and a new Drug-store and P O by a Republican. The news of McDowells defeat was received here (telegrap[h]ed via Le'n [Leavenworth]) two days after (23d) the battle causing much despondency to the Union men and great joy to "Seceshers." It has certainly been a great check to our army but we must hope that it will turn out for the best in putting our officers more on their guard in the future & who knows that it will not cause slavery to be abolished by proclamation. I believe the N people are drifting slowly but surely to that point I feel proud that a senator of Kansas first presented a Bill to that effect,¹⁶ but even if it fails I believe that with the total de-

16. Samuel C. Pomeroy, soon after he took his seat in the senate, introduced a bill providing that there should be no slavery or involuntary servitude in the states that had seceded.

feat of the Rebels will be the final destruction of Slavery. I do not wish to see the rightful property of the S[outh] confiscated for many of them doubtless have been forced into the vortex of Secession by circumstances over which they had no control, & by the misrepresentations of their Leaders. All I want is the entire destruction of human slavery. My sentiments are almost exactly expressed in a letter from G[errit]. Smith to the N. Y. T[ribune]. of July 20. Aunt Lide[Eliza] says she wants to live to see the day when not a slave exists in our Union. I must here detail an account of the course taken by my half-brother Frank in regard to the war; Last Spring we began a correspondence which we have continued until the present time. Before open hostilities had begun he was like his father, in favor of compromising with the traitors and trying to coax them back, but after the fall of Ft. Sumpter [Sumter] he joined a M[ilitary]. Co. which was raised in his neighborhood called the N. I. [National infantry?] in which he was elected color-bearer. They acted as a Home Guard (Gov[ern]ment not requiring their services at that time from Penn.) until about the middle of June when the acting Gov. of Va. (Gov. P.) requested this Co to enlist as Va. V. during the war. Capt. L. E. Smith accepted the invitation. Frank says our Father was strongly opposed to his going and told him he *should not go*, for awhile, but he worked away till he got his consent. He is now in Va at C[amp]. Carlisle near Wheeling, or was at last accounts. I do not know yet whether he took part in the battle of Bulls Run or not. He sent me his miniature taken when in uniform. The Dr. [Campdoras] & most people who have seen it, think he strongly resembles me.

Well I have not gone to the war yet, and likely will not soon. A Co. from Ogden,¹⁷ called the "Mud-sills" camped here yesterday on their way to be mustered into service. I am well acquainted with the 1st Lieut. (John Parsons) we having served in the same Co. in the K. war, 1856.¹⁸ He urged me strongly to go with them. We have our Co. drill every Sat. P. M. and are making progress and getting acquainted with our several duties. We arm ourselves for the time being. Some fears exist in regard to the Indians on our frontier but I hope they are groundless. I send you the Drs Topeka paper of yesterday with an account of this matter and an interesting description of Jim Lane which is to the life. When I served under him at H[ickory]- Point his uniform was, a coarse white felt hat a mixed blue & gray over-shirt much the worse for wear with an

17. Ogden, a town in Riley county.

18. See "The First Day's Battle at Hickory Point," *loc. cit.*

ordinary pair of boots & pants; His arms consisted of a six in. Colts revolver and a butcher knife hanging from his belt. He has what A[unt]. E[liza]. calls a "pack-saddle" nose, sharp and thin face and eyes which he keeps so nearly closed that it is almost impossible to tell the color of them. When I came home from that raid I drew a picture of him from memory which was destroyed a short time ago. No more &c. S. J. Reader.

P. S. Aunt L. [Eliza] wants you in your next to inform her about the situation, occupation, health &c of brother Joseph & family where Minerva's husband is and all particulars that you think would be of interest to her. Please write soon and [send] me the war news of L[a] H[arpe]. Who have enlisted from your town &c.

S. J. Reader

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[August 11, 1861.]

Dear Brother:

Yours of July 29 was duly rec'd & gave me much pleasure in informing me of your excellent health & prosperity in your new calling; Its arrival also removed some little uneasiness I had begun to feel for fear you had been killed or maimed at some of the recent engagements in your present vicinity. The Union forces of W. Va certainly did do a splendid thing when they chased the vile traitors from that part of the State. Will not the Slave holding aristocrats begin to learn after a while that there is some little fight in men who labor for a living; that if slow to get angry they will be terrible in battle when once aroused? For my part I have never had any misgivings on the score of N[orthern] courage. When these Pro-Slavery traitors make their boasts, they ought to remember how their B[order] Ruffian hordes were received by the quiet peace loving citizens of Kan., when they tried to plant the curse of slavery in this Territory by foul means, when they could not succeed by fair. Still it will not do to despise the S. soldiery or we will fall into the same error *they* did before McClellan opened their eyes. You say you wish I could serve with you in your Co in this war. Well, that is a wish I have often expressed myself & so wrote to our F[athe]r a short time ago. I know that my pleasure would fully equal yours to have the privilege in giving these Fire eaters their just deserts, but circumstances will oblige us to forgo it for the present at least for should I leave home my Aunt [Eliza] & her children would be left almost without protection from hostile Indians or white Marauders, with which Kan. is well supplied. Our farms would also very

likely go to destruction for want of proper attention. It would seem that I ought to have a stronger incentive than even you to enlist in this war, for while you are only striving to uphold the Union, I should besides that, believe that *Slavery* would finally be destroyed in case we succeeded. Frank, in your next will you give me your opinion of the right to hold human beings in Slavery whether you think Negroes are better off under the guidance of the superior power and intelligence of the white man, or are they capable of taking care of themselves. Just before I came to Kan. and when I was about your age, there was no class of men I despised or hated more than I did the Abol[itionist]s. I believed them to be a set of hypocritical meddlers and mischief-makers, keeping the nation in an uproar causing hatred between the 2 sections and defeating the object they pretended to have in view by exasperating the Slave holders and consequently causing them to bind more closely the chains of slavery. These ideas were instilled into my mind by my Uncle Cole who was a strong anti-abolitionist although opposed to the future extension of this institution. But after I came to Kan. I examined this subject as much as possible on both sides of the question (The N Y Day Book pro & the N Y. Tribune contra.) and have come to the conclusion that it is based on a stupendous wrong to the African race which cannot be excused by any sophistry on Earth nor by that worn out text from the Bible "*Cursed be Canaan*" &c. which is so familiar to religious Southerners, and which I once believed to be a knock down argument in favor of Negro Slavery I am not now ashamed nor afraid to be considered a "*Red hot fanatical Abolitionist.*" If it would not be too much trouble just give me your views when you write again. The day after I rec'd your letter from Camp Carlisle and after I had answered it—another from you written at home bearing date July 8 came to hand, and a day or 2 after still another dated July 20nd and bearing the post mark of Indianapolis Ind., where it had probably been taken. In the last I found a miniature of yourself which I greatly prize. The Dr. and many others think we strongly resemble each other. I suppose it will not do for me to give you my opinion of your appearance or you might consider me a flatterer. I will only add that 2 T[opeka]. ladies who were visiting my Aunt were examining the picture & I overheard the remarks: "*Il est beau. Il est tres joli*" &c.

Your uniform looks fine but I do not like the hat. It seems to me that it does not protect the face enough. When you write again please inform me who is the Col of the 20nd Reg. & if you have been

in action, a description of your first feelings &c. when under fire; will be read by us all with the greatest avidity. Your idea of our writing oftener I think a good one; the only draw back with me is I have so little to write that is of interest to you & with even a good subject I make but a poor out of it. Letter writing is not my *forte* as you can very well see and I am often afraid some of my letters will put you to sleep. I am delighted to hear that our Father is reconciled to your being in the Army When I received your sudden letter from C[amp]. Carlisle I must say it was one of the proudest moments of my life to think I had a brother so fearless and devoted to the cause of our Country, as to leave home and kindred, to risk his life in the uncertain chances of war, for its preservation. I must close for want of space. My best love & wishes to you. Affectionately yours,

Samuel J. Reader.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[August 28, 1861.]

According to agreement, I again take my pen to address a few lines to you. And would have done so sooner had I possessed anything of interest to write Your last letter was dated the 29 July & I answered it Aug 8 The other day I received a very pleasant letter from my sisters Martha & Ellen. I intend to answer them kind letters immediately and try to keep up a regular correspondence between us—if agreeable to them—of which I feel no doubt. We are all tolerably well. I have suffered from a cold for a few days. My Aunt had an attack of the bilious fever a m[onth]. or so ago but has soon recovered. It is believed that we will have an unhealthy Fall as there is such a rank growth of vegetation. The weather however is so dry that we may escape. Every thing is quiet in Kans I believe at present; There are not so many fears entertained about the Cherokees and some of the wild Indians as formerly. The F[remont]. G[ard].s. meet and drill regularly but have no arms except shot guns, rifles and arms of such description. We have not increased much in numbers since I wrote you last. 2 other members have requested me to strike their names from the roll. We do not expect to go out of the State and of course we will not see any of the *fun* unless [Gen. Claiborne F.] Jackson or [Gen. Ben] McCulloch should take a notion to invade us. Then expect to hear of the exploits of the F. G. although I cannot now predict in what we will be most distinguished, fighting or retreating. But remember this: If you hear of Sam. Reader taking to his heels

during action, disown him at once, break off all correspondence, never let it be known that you have a brother. The fear of personal danger is by no means a myth to me, for well I remember the ticklish sensations I experienced when I first heard the hum of bullets from even a distant enemy, but in this war the sacred cause in which we are enlisted ought to be enough to nerve the feeblest arms. The thought that success on our part will almost certainly liberate several millions of despised and down trodden people, should give our Abolition friends a courage not inferior to any known on Earth. Last evening I saw a wounded man on his way home from Mo. He was wounded in the head & leg at the great battle of Springfield¹⁹ A man who lived in Ind. last winter and a young Frenchman, a friend of my B- in law, were killed at the same battle. Col. Mitchells name is the only one on the list that is known by me He is badly wounded. I knew him when he was Capt. of Co F T[opek]a Guards in '56. He was generally liked by his men but was quick tempered and I once saw him have a serious quarrel with Capt. Sam Walker for arresting 2 of his men who had taken two horses of W's men without permission for the sake of taking a ride. Had it not been for the interference of Capt. Whipple (A. D. Stevens, hung at H[arper's]. F[erry]. Va.) blood might have been spilt in their empty quarrel.²⁰

A few days ago I sent you a copy of the N. Y. Day Book with a picture suitable for its frontis piece, as I thought. I have read the despicable sheet for several years without receiving any harm or being converted to Slavery & I hear that this evening I have received my last one. I am not so great a friend to the editor as to cry much but at the same time I do not favor suppressing such papers Argument is the thing necessary in such cases. No more

[To His Half-Sister Martha Reader]

[September 3, 1861.]

D[ear]. S[ister]. Had a very pleasant letter from you on the 27 day of last mo. which is the 1st I have rec'd from P. Run since F[rank]. left you for the war I again wrote to our father the 22d of Aug (just a few days before you wrote the 19 came to hand) as I had begun to feel uneasy at his silence If it would not too much interfere with him and his pressing business I should very much

19. This was the battle of Wilson creek which was fought a few miles south of Springfield, Mo., on August 10, 1861.

20. Col. Robert B. Mitchell of the Second Kansas cavalry was wounded at the battle of Wilson creek. Reader notes in his diary when he reinked the writing in 1911 that the Mitchell was not his "Capt. Mitchell of 1856."

like him to give me his views in regard to this war I should read them with great interest for not with standing we disagree in many things politically I have remarked that he has predicted this state of things several years ago and blaming the Abol. as much if not more than the Fire-eaters for their prejudice and hatred towards each other.

I have a proposition to make to you and Ellen It is that you correspond with me regularly which I have no doubt you will agree to as the pleasure it will afford me you can well conceive Although we have been so far nearly as much strangers to each other as possibly can be still I am determined to not let the barrier of several hundred miles always keep us so. When this war is over F[rank]. has promised me that he will pay me a visit and I will probably return with him and see you all.

I was sorry to hear of your suffering from the tooth ache it must be extremely painful from what I have heard about it When I was about 11 years old a violent cold settled on several of my double teeth and I then thought I had a considerable time of it but I suppose it was nothing at all in comparison to the regular toothache You ask me how my foot gets along; well it did not trouble me much. The ax cut off the tendon of my big toe and a small artery, but by keeping the wound together with sticking plaster, and remaining perfectly quiet for 3 or 4 days I was able to go at my usual business in less than a week.

The weather has been pretty dry for a long time Our corn crop will be heavy; vegetables are doing well. Hay will be plenty and cheap. I never saw the grass look better. I suppose you are aware that our meadows are all out on the prairies, and are generally free to all. The grass on the high ground grows about $\frac{1}{2}$ ft in height and in low swamps nearly as high as six feet! This latter is very useful in keeping such stock as run out and take care of themselves during the Winter because we never have snows heavy enough to completely bury it. I have no doubt it sounds strange to hear of horses and cattle "wintering" themselves but such is the fact. Last winter was hard on them on account of the shortness of the grass. One day I saw several Indian ponies scraping the snow away with their fore feet in order to get the grass underneath. I do not tell this as "a fish story." Another staple production of K[ansas] in this vicinity this year is weeds This pest seems to spring spontaneously from the ground in places that have been free from it heretofore It is almost impossible to go through the woods now on account of a rough leafed weed which grows 10 or 15 feet in height

and as thick as a wheat field, (*almost*). Ind[ianola]. is also to a great extent shut out from view by weeds of various kinds. The most prominent among them is the wild sunflower, giving the town at this time a rather golden appearance. Next to them ranks a fetid dark green weed with a thorny bur which I believe is called gympson, and the rank & file is made up of cockleburs hazle bushes and sand burs. Perhaps these weeds are gathering around to hide the secession inhabitants from view. This may give you an idea how a "1 horse town" in the far West, looks.

[September 5.]

Eliza [Campdoras] calls her little girl Joanna Catherine She wishes to write to you and F[rank] also, but has not done so yet as so much of her time is taken up in her household duties and in taking care of her children who are the greatest mischiefs in the Township. You wished us to send you our likenesses. Well as our daguerreotypist is out of materials necessary for taking pictures, I took it upon myself to sketch the profile of the Dr. [Campdoras] while he was talking to my Aunt last Sund. and finished it from memory Is in his Naval uniform which he wore while serving as surgeon in the F[rench]. Navy. It is quite correct excepting the color of the coat which is a shade or two darker. The face will I think give you a tolerable idea how Dr. Camp[dora]s looks only remember I never flatter when I attempt to draw a persons likeness. To aid a little I will jot down a few items concerning his personal appearance. He is about 5 ft 10 in. in height; and inclined to corpulency; weighs about 180 or 185 lbs. A large head with a heavy covering of black hair and a luxuriant beard of the same color. He has black or very dark brown eyes, piercing but with a mirthful expression ordinarily His hands and feet are small for a man of his size. Well I have done my best you see on this subject with pen & pencil but still have my doubts whether you would know your brother in law should you meet him an ordinary stranger. It is getting dark. Must close Write soon.

S. J. R.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[September 13, 1861.]

His Satanic Majesty ought to be the patron of Ind[ianola]a. I was going to say but will wait until I know whether he can stand their strychnined liquors or not. The most prominent features of our town now, are weeds, whisky and traitors— Read opinion of Slavery with much interest—differ on some minor points but agree on the main question &c &c.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[October 14, 1861.]

An a/c of prairie fires wind &c 2d: about our new Company "your humble servant was elected Ord. Se'gt probably on a/c of his six feet two." 3, About the 2d reg Jim Lane on plundering "The cause is too holy either considered as a war in support of our Union or as a war for the emancipation of the African race in our midst—to allow a base desire for plunder to occupy the soldiers thoughts." 4 My opinion of the war Think slavery ought to be put an end to. Uphold Fremont's acts²¹ &c. &c.

[To His Half-Sister Martha]

[October 21, 1861.]

D[ear] S[ister] Martha:

I rec'd a very welcome letter from you and Ella on the 15 of this mo. containing the tidings of your good health and general prosperity. A few days previous I rec. a letter from Frank which I answered immediately as it was the 2 one I had rec. since writing to him I truly feel proud of him in his present position; and regret I cannot with him lend a helping hand to aid our Gov in putting down this wicked rebellion Several weeks ago 14 or 15 of our neighbors, mostly members of our Independent Co. enlisted in the Home Guards;²² but I did not go with them although strongly urged to do so. It certainly looked bad to see some of them men of families leaving for the war while a great strapping healthy fellow like me stayed at home. But maybe I will yet have a chance to show myself as patriotic as my brother especially if our State should be invaded when every good citizen will be invited to turn out and drive the invaders back I solace myself with the thought that if I cannot help our cause as a soldier I certainly can as a farmer. So for the present at least I will have to be one of the producing class. The reason I have not enlisted yet is that I have my business in such a situation that should I leave everything would be liable to go to destruction, and my Aunt would also be left without any one to see after her affairs except the Dr. and he is of but little account in the farming line. These are my principal reasons which I hope you will accept and not think I am kept from the field through cowardice, if

21. Frémont as commander of the Western department issued a proclamation on August 31, 1861, freeing the slaves of all Southern sympathizers in the state of Missouri who took up arms against the United States. Since this was not in conformity with the confiscation act passed by congress, President Lincoln, on September 11, ordered him to modify his order.—Greeley, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 585; v. II, pp. 239-240.

22. These men enlisted in Company E, Eighth regiment, Kansas Volunteer infantry.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-1865*, pp. 273-275.

I *am* naturally adapted for running notwithstanding. We are all in tolerable health excepting the Drs children. They both had the chills a few days ago and have not got rid of them yet. Little Leon was the worst. He is my favorite and seems to think a considerable of his "unk Ham," (Uncle Sam) as he calls me. He has now arrived at the period when children are the most interesting and prattles continually. His father is teaching him the French language at which he is quite a proficient already and often salutes me in Fr. I tried to draw his likeness a short time ago but he was like the darkeys pig than ran about so he couldn't be counted. In short he would not be still a moment; therefore I will have to defer drawing his portrait until he gets old enough to comprehend what I want or else screw his head in a carpenters vise. Of course he would be still then but his phiz. would not present a very pleasing appearance; for he possesses a temper that would do honor to his Frankish ancestors of the olden time. In personal appearance he strongly resembles his father; a regular Dr. C. in miniature minus beard and moustaches.

Dade as they call the little girl is prettier featured than Leon and promises to be a fine girl. But I believe I will drop the subject for the present and if I have tired you with it you must remember that it is natural for old bachelors to dote upon their nephews and nieces.

Our Indianola folks of the Secesh stripe are quite quiet now partly owing perhaps to a serenade at which I assisted a few evenings ago. As music is said to soothe the most savage mind. The way it happened I was in town the other evening to put my last letter to Frank in the P. O. where I found Sergt. Rose of the H[ome]. G[uard]'s returned on a recruiting tour and another young man who is a fine flutist. Mr. Rose got his fiddle and the other man his flute. I returned home (half a mile) and got my flute also on which I can perform a little and we visited every house (groggins excepted) with the exception of a crabbed Dutchman and a bachelor shoemaker whom we concluded could do with out our melody. At the houses of noted Seceshionists we played Y. D. [Yankee Doodle?] H. C. [Hail Columbia?] and other patriotic airs & at Unionists such airs as Old Folks at Home, Jordan &c. The worst feature of our evenings entertainment was that at several of the houses we were invited in and liquor denominated "Tangle foot," chain-lightning, Bust-head &c, were set before us. The consequence was that friends Rose and Thompson were complaining of headache the next day; on account of liberal potations imbibed in the evening of the poisonous stuff, which one

of them said was composed of strychnine and cayenne pepper. As I belong to the Temperance Society and rigidly uphold and practice total abstinence I of course suffered no ill effects. In our rounds we went to the Drs house who lives several hundred yards E[ast] of our house and commenced playing under his window. He got up about half awake and as this was the first serenading in this part of the country he concluded we were rowdies come to disturb him. He opened the door and asked if we were drunken people before he perceived his error. Our violinist then sang the Red W. & Blue. I am happy to hear of your opinion of our B-in-law's picture. I will send you my daguerreotype as soon as I can get one. I tried to draw myself before a looking glass and succeeded in producing a hideous looking picture which homely as I am I repudiated. I will try and send you specimens of my *scratchings* frequently. As a beginning I send you a likeness of one of the noblest and most self-sacrificing heroes of this or any other age when we view him from his own stand point.²³ I saw and conversed with the old man during our troubles in 1856. *And feel prouder of the event than I would of the intimacy of the greatest potentate in the world.* He passed life in a humble sphere but if justice be done his generous nature his name will shine while those of the men who sat in judgment over him will sink to oblivion. I expect you will all call this extravagant language. Now girls this picture is for the one that will prize it highest in plain terms the strongest Abolitionist. D. Sisters write often as nothing is more welcome to me than your kind letters. My next letter I will write to Ella and so on alternately. I have no more space. Your affectionate brother, Samuel J. Reader,

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[December 1, 1861.]

About writing Health Weather &c. Our local news is unimportant. Kansas is not one of the Battle fields yet although many families are leaving S[outhern] K[ansas] on account of the lawless condition of things in that section. Last Sund I assisted at the funeral of the child of one of the refugees & he informed me that bands of Mo. miscreants were almost continually making inroads into K. in his neighborhood plundering the defenceless inhabitants and in many instances shooting the Union men down like dogs. He said these ruffians were incited to these deeds to retaliate the plun-

23. John Brown.

dering of Seceshers by some of the K-guerrilla parties who were stealing "on their own hook." Such trials and dangers are very disheartening to settlers in that locality. Here we feel comparatively safe in this respect for this winter at least. This driving off and murdering of innocent inhabitants is certainly one of the most dreadful concomitants of war. From the L[eavenworth] daily papers we learn that Weston only 10 m. from that city is in the hands of the Traitors; and that several officers have been arrested by them.²⁴ Nothing has pleased me more of late than Sec. Camerons endorsement of Col. Cochranes speech, which you of course, have read long ere this Still I would have been better pleased had this policy been inaugurated last Spring; or better still had Slavery been abolished by U. Sam as soon as showed a determined disposition to resist his authority. Still it is not for me to criticise I suppose. I declare, Frank I have nothing to write to you that I think will interest you. Were I in Camp as you are I might make my letters less barren. Write soon &c &c &c. Samuel J. Reader.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[January 5, 1862.]

Rec. &c &c Gave an interesting a/c of battle on Alleghany Mts. Gen. Price retreating Delighted that Jim Lane is to command Kan troops²⁵ The men all have confidence in him and he knows how to carry on the war amongst our B-R neighbors of Mo.²⁶ and in him the Contrabands find a true friend and liberator. Health good Drs to Ill. Well we presume Eliza you know like myself is not very punctual in writing some times A snow &c. I am no friend of cold weather It uses me up completely, and I have been frost-bitten slightly several times. Some think it is because I do not warm my blood up with alcohol; but I am of the opinion that the remedy is worse than the inconvenience. Hot weather makes but little impression on me and should I ever leave this place it will be to make another move towards the sunny south Our little town is as quiet as you please &c &c. One of the number W. E. T. married a Half

24. *The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, December 5, 1861, gives the following account: "Last Thursday Si Gordon, with his clan, took possession of Weston, Mo., only a few miles from Leavenworth. On the afternoon of that day upon the arrival of the train from St. Joe the rebel band surrounded it and took Captains Moonlight and Rabe, who were passengers, prisoners. . . ."

25. President Lincoln appointed James H. Lane brigadier general with a view of sending an expedition into Arkansas and the Indian territory.—Stephenson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 118-122.

26. "Yes, Jim Lane was as good (or as bad,) as 'our Border-ruffian neighbors of Mo.' when he got over there with fire & sword."—Note added by Reader to his diary when reinking it in 1911.

breed squaw on N. Years and the whole town, nearly, has been on a *bust* ever since He is a brother of the proprietor of our billiard saloon; Was in the P[ro]. S[lavery] army in 56-7. Murdered a man at Lecompton; Was convicted and pardoned out by Gov. Robinson. He struts about as impudent as Lucifer, with the back of his head 3 in. in rear of his heels. No more. Signed Sam. Reader.

[To His Half-Sister Martha]

[January 15, 1862.]

Reception of letters. Health of all Drs &c. Weather. Prices. Corn 10 Pork 2½ Beef 3 cts No fears of famine. No news in Kan. Legislature met. It seemed to me that good luck had all come at once for with it came one from F. which I of course opened first to see if he had been in the late battle. I was much delighted to hear of his good health & spirits. He is certainly a great writer for one so young from the number of letters he has written to you since being a soldier besides his correspondence to myself, and doubtless many others I should very much like to see some of his newspaper communications. I am certain from the letters he has written to me that he is fully competent as a War Correspondent We cannot doubt that he will attain celebrity as he comes to maturer years should he feel so disposed You say you want my "Shadow" in uniform as a Christmas gift. I faithfully promise to send it just as soon as I can get an opportunity to have it taken; not in uniform however, as our Co. has not procured uniforms yet and perhaps will not for some time, if ever. We have not met to drill for some time on a/c of the cool weather and the tranquil appearance of the State. If I could draw a likeness of myself which would be in any wise accurate, I would do it with pleasure but I believe it would be in vain. I have made and sent to Our relatives of La Harpe so many pictures of myself in caricature especially during the Kansas War, that I can hardly represent myself in any other than a ludicrous character and one of that description you might not think in very good taste. Besides, I intend to be a little more careful in the future how I send such sketches to my friends; as I have placed myself in an unpleasant predicament by it already. It was in this manner: After the Dr. and Eliza were married I sketched a comic tableau of the wedding. I represented them on the floor looking as if their last day had come while I stood near in the shape of the section of a rainbow shedding tears of regret My Uncle & Aunt were made in

about equally ridiculous attitudes. Now this picture I sent to my U. Samúel [James] to give him an idea of the appearance of the marriage as I said, without the faintest supposition that the Dr. would ever see it. But in this I was mistaken for it was preserved and in his letter the Dr congratulated me on my success in drawing &c. informing me that my cousin Miss America James recognizes him at first sight from the resemblance he bore to his likeness in the wedding scene. I know there is too much mirth in his character for him to be offended, but still I feel quite cheap when I think of this picture being exhibited to him. It would indeed be a pleasure to meet you all soon and if it is not possible now I do not intend that our separation shall be eternal. Ella speaks of your instrumental music May I ask what instrument you are learning to play upon. I am very fond of music instrumental in particular and sometimes try to make some myself in my own poor way upon the flute, but without much success. I purchased my instrument just before we came to Kan. and commenced tooting upon it but contrary to the advice of sister E. refused to learn the notes thinking it too much trouble She understands music thoroughly and tried to get me to take lessons from her but the first lesson appeared so formidable to me that I gave it up. I continued in *blissful ignorance* until about or more than a year ago when finding I was making no progress of any account—I took up the "*Carmina Sacra*" and by dint of hard studying on Sundays (not being a member of Church,) and odd times, I mastered what I had supposed so difficult in a short time. There is one tune that I have never come across, "*The Star Spangled banner*" If you have the air, will not one of you as a great favor to me, copy the music and send it to me? You write also that you are in a class of vocalists. Well that is something I know as little of as I do of Latin & Greek. I never sing and do not suppose I could go through correctly with any tune to save my life. I feel very much flattered at receiving Ellas compliments about John B[rown]'s picture and may I not say gratified to hear her expressions of *noble*, and *martyred*, in connection with his name. I will try and send specimens of my "daubing" as often as I can execute any thing that will be worthy of notice "Artist" you cannot properly call me for I have never received instruction in drawing or painting from master or book in my life, and draw pictures (generally comic) for amusement. No more space

S. J. R.

[To His Uncle Samuel James]

[January 18, 1862.]

I wrote 3 pages to S about La Harpe soldiers their wounds &c. My views of the war. Dont like old Abe's giving emancipation the cold shoulder. I am the same as any other radical dyed in the wool abolitionist We are all well "Whet ther air of us" and there are enough of us too this cold weather. Sent word to Dr. & E all safe &c About Burnett getting stove. Tax on land &c.

Signed "Uncle Sam to Uncle Sam."

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[January 19, 1862.]

D[ear]. B[rother].

Day before yesterday I received a letter from you dated Jan. 3 in which you said you had not received any word from me since you wrote last. I wrote to you the first part of this mo. in answer to yours of Dec. and I suppose it has reached you before this

We are all enjoying excellent health. The Dr [Campdoras] & family are all right at last accounts The little boy had an attack of the croup but soon got over it. We do not expect them home before Spring. I sent in your complaint as well as our Sisters to E. for not writing to you, yesterday. Our weather has been cold and disagreeable for some weeks A snow of six in. is still lying on the ground. Prices for farm produce are low while Cotton and woolen goods are high Salt sells for 5¢ pr. lb.

You ask how my military pulse beats. Well I hope its pulsations are still true to the Union but its throbs would rise to fever heat were we also fighting against this unholy system of Slavery which our enemies are so carefully fostering even at the expense of disloyalty and a formidable war waged against them. I am no politician and know nothing in regard to the intricate windings of diplomacy as you well know, and therefore ought not to set up *my* judgment in this matter, still it seems to me that the most ordinary common sense would dictate the overthrow of Slavery. What are *your* views in this matter? What lamentable folly some of our Gens. show in discountenancing fugitive slaves. Jim Lane knew what course to pursue in Mo. in respect to slaves and no troops were more feared by the enemy than his Brigade Even you Va. boys from your last letter are beginning to find out the utility of the despised "*Contrabands*."

I learned last night that Sec. Cameron has been relieved from his position in the Cabinet. I am as sorry to hear of his removal as I was about Fremonts, for I had formed a high opinion of their ability and views for prosecuting the war. You gave some amusing anecdotes about the runaway darkies.

I thank Fortune that as soon as one sets foot in Kan. soil he is a free man. What unspeakable joy must be awakened in these poor creatures minds when they for the first time realize that they are free; when they know that they will no longer have to toil from "sun to sun," under the drivers lash and no longer dread the (to them) dreadful thought of being sold "down south" unless they tamely submit to their fate. I was in T[opek]a the other day and saw quite a number of negroes employed by the citizens. They looked intelligent and happy. I believe they have 15 or 20 there but none have come over on this side of the river yet that is, in this Township. Excuse my dwelling on this subject so long. Remember, I know no better than to think Negroes better off free than slave, and am a confirmed dyed in-the-wool abolitionist. I am happy to hear that U. Sam provides you all with such good fare. Some of my acquaintances of the Kan. 2d tell me that last Summer while in Mo. they were often on half rations and some times had nothing but fresh meat. They gallantly fought at the battle of Springfield without any other uniform than a blue blouse and many were not well supplied with canteens and suffered dreadfully for want of water. You asked me how I spent the holidays. Well I am afraid I did not observe them very properly. First Christmas was so fine a day for work that I broke that day entirely. N. Y.s day I find by looking at my Journal was cold and I kept in doors mostly, although invited to be present at the wedding of Wm. T. one of our rankest Pro Slaverites to be married to a Half breed Pott[awatomie]. squaw 10 mi. from here. More than half the town was there. I was in town when the crowd started. Almost every one had a bottle or two of Red eye on board and several good swigs under their belts to keep the cold off. In the evening I took my cousin F[rances]. to a kind of social party, ostensibly a "*Candy pulling*," but on arriving, found it to be more of a play party than anything else. We could not complain of girls for they outnumbered the gents more than two to one. Our host being a strictly religious man nothing like dancing was attempted and it made no difference with me for I never shook the *fantastic* toe more than 10 or 15 times in my life and as old age is creeping on me like the galloping consumption after a fast young

lady that I probably never will shake it again. Our Master of Ceremonies was Mr Bowker or rather Capt. B. of our Independent Co. You see we civilians have every thing our own way now but when the "Bowld Soger boys" come home our day will be over; then will "the greater glory dim the less" and we will all sink into insignificance.

Our local news has not been important for a long time The State Legis. met a few days ago at T[opek]a but I believe are doing nothing important. Day before yesterday the S. Court decided that Chas R[obinson]. our old Dem. half traitor Gov. can remain in office another year, and thus leave Mr Crawford who received a heavy vote last Fall, out in the cold.²⁷

I answered Mats [Martha's] last letter a week or so ago. Can it be possible that Ella is becoming an abolitionist? Her letters seem to show it. In your next please tell me if you are camped out in tents yet or are you in barracks? I will close S. J. R.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[February 19, 1862.]

Health & Weather—Snow lying on ground— "Not following up" my business as closely &c— Temperature—I suppose your present elevation has the effect of keeping your Reg[iment]. cool which you know is a very desirable quality in a soldier. You soldier[s] must suffer many hardships this cold weather especially while standing guard at night but I believe you informed me in one of your letters that you were exempt from this duty. In your next I wish you would inform me about the general health of the army in your vicinity I have lately heard that there is much sickness among the soldiers on the Potomac but it may be that your mountainous situation has a salutary effect in warding off disease. I am happy to hear that you will probably be your Majors Secy. It is said that the pen is mightier than the sword and I know that you can wield the former with success and ease, if I may be permitted to judge from what I have seen and the number of letters your sister[s] say you have written to them since you have been in camp To me it would be almost a Herculean task that is if I were obliged to think up subjects enough to make my letters interesting. Everything is quiet in our little town. No new visits from the Jayhawkers In fact I

27. At an election held November 5, 1861, state officers were voted on, George A. Crawford being the candidate for governor. The state board refused to canvass his votes, holding that the terms of the officials then serving did not begin until Kansas was admitted as a state, notwithstanding they were elected in 1859. A writ of mandamus to compel the board to canvass the votes was denied by the supreme court which declared that the election was illegal.—Wilder, *op. cit.*, November 5, 1861, January 9 and 21, 1862.

believe Jay hawking as it is called and which is identical with pressing in 56 & 57 has been discouraged and punished until it hardly dares show its head. I always condemned such proceedings on the U[nion] side although many of our deluded neighbors thought it a *pious institution*. The men engaged in it must have been devoid of principle. If I were to go into the war, it would be to fight and not to learn to be a thief and the only property I should think of touching would be the lawful booty taken in the enemy's camp and perhaps if a chance should occur taking off certain biped property from the owners (?) which ("Oh the depravity of the human heart?") I should consider a very praiseworthy action. I am sure no twinges of conscience would trouble me nor do I think my sleep would be disturbed by the goblin spectre of some plantation lord with the bible under one arm and the Constitution of the U. S. under the other. Our Kan news is not important. Jim Lane and the people of our state are disappointed that old Jim has not the command of an expedition which is to start Southward as soon as Spring opens. We must all of necessity however submit to the powers that be at Washington²⁸. I was pleased with your plain and candid statement on the subject of emancipation, but sorry to think that you for a moment should think me of a disposition to be offended at it. Plain speaking when not carried to excess for the love of contradiction we all know is a desirable characteristic and I flatter myself that I appreciate it in common with others. Our views in regard to this matter are at variance more than I supposed. I see you view our present struggle in the same light that a great maj[ority]. of the American people N[orth] do; viz: the maintenance of the Union and destruction to the traitors who dare to pull the glorious fabric down. Now these are very fine sentiments. Our Country is the most democratic and free than any other in the civilized world, and I am proud and happy to think I am an A[merica]n. citizen and should be miserable if I thought our Rep. form of Gov. should be destroyed were we to be foiled in our attempt to subdue the S. without freeing her slaves. But this I do not believe would happen. We of the N. are certainly men enough to know how to get along without being guided and governed by the vile and despotic Southerners, and if it is the policy of the Gov. to shoot and stab them back into the U[nion]. and still let them foster and extend their abominable in-

28. This refers to the proposed military expedition to the Southwest. (See Footnote 25.) Lane was not placed in command of the forces but was ordered to report to Gen. D. Hunter, the commanding officer. Since he could not lead the expedition, Lane announced that he would again take up his duties in the senate.—Stephenson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 118-122.

stitution, my sympathies for the success of the war will cease, for is it not self evident that Slavery is the cause of the war and would it not expose us to perpetual wars and commotion hereafter and would not the separation they are so anxious for, be preferable to such a state of things? I supposed at the beginning of the war that every effort would be made to weaken the Rebels by encouraging their slaves to desert or still better to come out open and above board and emancipate them, thereby gaining the sympathies of Europe instead of their enmity as we have nearly done already; and showing our own people that a settled policy had been inaugurated. As you say, hundreds or thousands of soldiers (of the Border Slave states we presume) would desert *preferring* Slavery for the Un., but could not their places be supplied by the free negroes of the N and the runaways of the S? These are my sentime[n]ts.²⁹ I see Frank that your "heart is in the right place"; that is, you wish to see Slavery destroyed but not by an act of the general Gov't. and think the subject ought not to be agitated too much for fear of damaging our cause and that slavery will be destroyed or abolished in some manner not explained. It is very possible that you are right and I am wrong but it seems to me that agitation will do no harm in this crisis. Now is the time to strike while the Slaveryites are ripe for destruction. I have here plainly stated my ideas as you did yours so you can now know exactly how I stand, but I want you to understand, if I am an abolitionist I am not an amalgamationist, but want the blacks colonized by themselves, which will be better for them and for us. I have perhaps looked on the dark side of the picture and may be agreeably disappointed when the storm of war bursts forth in the Spring to see the Northerners banners with "*Emancipation*," inscribed alongside of our glorious motto: "*Union*." I should like to say more about this matter but space will not permit, and perhaps your patience will be sufficiently tried with this. It is not necessary for me to request you to write soon, as you are always punctual

Your very affectionate brother,

Samuel J. Reader.

29. Reader made the following marginal note in 1911: "How lucky it was that Sam Reader did not manage the Civil War in 1862. 'The pear was not ripe,' and Abolitionists had to 'wait a spell.'"

(To be concluded in the May Quarterly)

A. L. Runyon's Letters From the Nineteenth Kansas Regiment

I. INTRODUCTION

DURING the summers of 1865 to 1869 western Kansas was the scene of warfare between the settlers and wild tribes of plains Indians: Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches. Indian raids were responsible for the deaths of many persons and the destruction of a great deal of property. In the summer of 1867 the Indians were especially active, and although the Seventh regiment of United States cavalry and the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry were constantly in the field, their forces were not sufficient to keep the Indians under control. Again in 1868 raids disastrous to white settlements occurred along the whole frontier. The peace commission which had been set up under a congressional act of July 20, 1867, to come to an agreement with the hostile tribes, was sufficiently influenced by these events to abandon many of its pacific theories, and at a meeting in Chicago in October, 1868, recommended that the Indians be dealt with by the War Department. Maj. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan, at Fort Hays, immediately began preparations for war. His plan was to concentrate the peaceful Indians south of the Arkansas river and to carry on intensive warfare with the others. In order to carry out this project more troops were needed to supplement the regular army, and therefore on October 9, 1868, Sheridan transmitted to Gov. Samuel J. Crawford of Kansas a request from Gen. William T. Sherman for a regiment of twelve companies of volunteer cavalry to serve for a period of six months. The governor consequently issued a proclamation on October 10 calling for the organization of the Nineteenth Kansas regiment.¹

Recruiting offices were opened in many Kansas towns. In Manhattan the governor's proclamation was published in the *Standard* on October 17, although recruiting actually had begun earlier. One of the first volunteers at the Manhattan station was Alfred Lee Runyon, who joined for service on October 12 and was mustered in

1. For additional information on this regiment see Horace L. Moore, "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry," in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VI, pp. 35-52; James Albert Hadley, "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry and the Conquest of the Plains Indians," in *ibid.*, v. X, pp. 428-456; William E. Connelley, "John McBee's Account of the Expedition of the Nineteenth Kansas," in *ibid.*, v. XVII, pp. 361-374; Mahlon Bailey, "Medical Sketch of the Nineteenth Regiment of Kansas Cavalry Volunteers," in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VI, pp. 378-386. For a general discussion of the Indian problem in its national aspects see Frederic L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1911).

October 29.² He was assigned as clerk at the headquarters of Company M.³

Runyon was a young man who had been employed for several months in the office of the Manhattan *Independent*, and later in the office of the Manhattan *Standard*. The editor of the latter paper, expressing his regret at losing a capable helper, remarked that "Alfred was a steady and faithful boy while with us, and will make an efficient clerk for Capt. Moody. We regretted his determination to enlist, but are glad that his ability as a penman is being appreciated by his officers." The editor concluded: "He has promised to keep our readers posted as to the incidents and doings of the regiment. The first of his letters appears this week."⁴

Following its six months' tour of duty the Nineteenth was disbanded. Runyon himself was mustered out April 18, 1869,⁵ and returned to Manhattan where he again engaged in the printing trade.⁶ Little information of his movements during the next four years has been discovered, but on December 25, 1874, *The Nationalist*, of Manhattan, reported that "A. L. Runyan went to work on the J[unction]. C[ity]. *Tribune*, a few days ago." Some months later, Manhattan and Junction City newspapers recorded Runyon's marriage to Miss Libbie J. Damon in Abilene, March 11, 1876.⁷

The couple settled in Manhattan where Runyon, with C. M. Patee, established the Manhattan *Enterprise*, May 3, 1876. Runyon was editor, and following the withdrawal of Patee in January, 1877, was sole manager of the paper until its sale to G. A. Atwood on June 16, 1882. With Atwood's first issue, dated June 23, the paper was renamed the *Republic*.

Leaving Manhattan, Runyon formed a partnership with O. M. Pugh and J. P. Campbell and the three purchased *The Times* of Clay Center, in October, 1882. The duties of the new owners, as outlined in their announcement in *The Times* of October 19, were: "Mr. Pugh remains in charge of the local department. The world-

2. *Annual Report of the Adjutant General* . . . , 1870, p. 79. In this report, as in the letters to follow, the name is spelled "Runyan." "Runyon" is correct, however. Damon Runyon, well-known son of A. L., explains the discrepancy as follows: "The difference in the way he spelled Runyan and the way I spell it (Runyon) is due to the New York copy readers when I first hit New York. They kept putting in the 'o' so finally I left it that way. My father said that was the correct spelling, and that it got to be 'a' with him through error which, like myself, he did not trouble to correct."—Damon Runyon to N. H. Miller, Kansas State Historical Society, letter postmarked New York, September 10, 1939.

3. *Manhattan Standard*, November 7, 1868.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Annual Report of the Adjutant General* . . . , 1870, p. 79.

6. The official "Ninth U. S. Census, 1870," Kansas, v. 20, Manhattan, p. 28, lists Alfred Runyon, 21, as a printer.

7. *The Nationalist*, Manhattan, March 17, 1876; *Junction City Tribune*, March 16, 1876.

moving will be done with neatness and dispatch by Campbell and Runyan. If there is anything you don't like, bounce Runyan."

The beginning of the year 1884 found Clay Center newspapers under mixed managements. Wirt W. Walton and D. A. Valentine, owners of *The Dispatch*, dissolved their partnership. Valentine purchased *The Times* from Campbell and Runyan. They, in turn, joined with Walton on *The Dispatch*. Runyon continued with *The Dispatch* until June 4, 1885, when he sold his interest to Walton.

On October 2 the Press Printing Company of Wellington received a charter from the secretary of state of Kansas.⁸ With a paid-up capital of \$12,000 the corporation purchased the *Daily* and *Weekly Press* and the good will and subscription list of the *Daily* and *Weekly Wellingtonian*. All were consolidated under the head of the Wellington *Daily Press* and *The Sumner County Press*, Jacob Stotler, editor, and A. L. Runyon, business manager.⁹

On July 22, 1886, Runyon took over editorship of the papers from Stotler, who made another connection in Emporia. Approximately a year later, on June 4, 1887, the *Daily Press* was discontinued. "Reason: It does not pay," wrote Runyon. Shortly afterward, his wife's health prompted Runyon to seek a new location in Colorado. His name disappeared from the masthead of the weekly *Press* after October 20, and on November 3 the *Press* recorded that Runyon had gone to Pueblo.

Four children—three girls and one boy—were born in Kansas to the couple. Two girls are deceased.¹⁰ Damon Runyon, according to the *Enterprise*, was born in Manhattan October 3, 1880.¹¹

The letters which follow were written by A. L. Runyon during his term of service in the Nineteenth cavalry and published in the Manhattan *Standard* in 1868 and 1869. They supplement the story of an already much-publicized regiment which, though it suffered many hardships, paradoxically enough never engaged in actual fighting, and which, although it was a cavalry unit, served part of its term as a dismounted troop, performing in this capacity so well that General Custer's official report stated that the "Nineteenth put to the blush the best regular infantry."¹²

Company M, to which Runyon was attached, possibly saw even fewer hostile "red-skins" than the rest of the command. Of the 189 days that Runyon served, 111 were spent with his company, de-

8. Secretary of state, "Corporations" copybooks, v. 19, p. 244.

9. *The Sumner County Press*, Wellington, October 8, 1885.

10. Letter from Damon Runyon, postmarked New York, September 10, 1939.

11. Manhattan *Enterprise*, October 8, 1880.

12. Hadley, *loc. cit.*, p. 446.

tached from the main body of the regiment, chiefly in escorting wagon trains moving between the various frontier forts and outposts. Nevertheless these letters present a fresh view of early-day Kansas and the Indian country. They are reproduced here for their general interest rather than as a source of new information regarding the Nineteenth Kansas cavalry. Occasional variations in spelling of proper nouns which appear in the original *Standard* text have been retained.

II. THE LETTERS

CAMP CRAWFORD,¹³

TOPEKA, November 2, 1868.

[Published, November 7, 1868.]

The Manhattan boys arrived in Topeka about noon, safe and sound, on Monday last. At Wamego we were joined by another party of recruits bound for the same destination.

We marched into Camp Crawford, and pitched our tents. The wind blew very hard, causing a great dust, which did not increase the good humor of the men.

On Monday evening a lot of horses stampeded from the corral, situated about half a mile from camp, and made a terrible clattering going over the bridge. They were recovered the next morning, except about eighty. The same evening there was a row in a house of ill fame in the city, during which one of the soldiers belonging to camp was badly wounded. On Tuesday evening a man named Williams, of Company "D" was shot in the side by an accidental discharge of a musket, in the hands of one of the guards. Luckily the shot glanced and inflicted only a slight flesh-wound.

Gen. Sheridan was in town Tuesday morning, but left in the afternoon.

All the companies are now mustered in, and the adjutant general says the regiment will move about next Wednesday. We expect to move south, towards the mouth of the Little Arkansas river.

It is not yet known in camp who is to be our colonel; but Crawford is the anticipated man.¹⁴

13. Camp Crawford, named for the governor of Kansas, was established October 21, 1868, to care for the recruits coming into Topeka from various points in Kansas. It consisted of two farms in the bottom lands between the Kansas river and Shunganunga creek, extending north and south approximately from Second to Fifth street. The headquarters tents were about 250 yards northeast of the first Santa Fe passenger station.—Hadley, *loc. cit.*, p. 431.

14. Prior to the appointment of a permanent commander Horace L. Moore of Lawrence, a Civil war cavalry officer and former commander of the Eighteenth Kansas, assumed command with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Samuel J. Crawford resigned as governor and became colonel of the regiment on November 4, 1868, serving until his resignation February 12, 1869. Moore was advanced to colonel March 23 and served until April 18, 1869, when the regiment was mustered out.—Hadley, *loc. cit.*, p. 432; *Annual Report of the Adjutant General* . . . 1870, p. 17; *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, November 5, 1868.

Our company is Co. "M." We were mustered in Thursday evening.

Our captain is Sargent Moody, of Manhattan. This makes his fourth trip as captain, and he has fairly and honorably earned his commission in the field. He exerts his utmost energies to promote the health and comfort of his men, who like him very much. James Graham and James Hurst are our first and second lieutenants, and promise to become very efficient officers.

The noncommissioned officers were elected on Thursday morning last, by acclamation. The Manhattan boys got a fair share.

The men are all in the very best of health and spirits, partly, no doubt, owing to their having just drawn their clothing and blankets.

Yours, A. L. R.

In camp, WICHATA [Wichita], Nov. 12, '58 ['68].

[Published November 28, 1868.]

The 17th [19th] regiment left Topeka on last Thursday about noon, and took up its line of march southward.¹⁵ We marched about eighteen miles and camped on the Wakarusa. It was after dark when we got into camp, and the boys immediately scattered for wood for fires. It was so dark that a great many of them got bewildered and lost their way, and the woods resounded with cries of "Company F!" "Company C, Mess No. 5!" "Company A!" "Company M, Mess No. 4!" etc. There was great rushing to and fro for corn, hay, etc., till late in the night. The boys were all tired and sore from their first day's march, and all but the guards sought their blankets, with their saddles for pillows, as soon as possible.

The next morning we were aroused long before daylight, to roll call, and by sunrise we were on the march. We marched till about five o'clock in the afternoon, when we camped on Elm creek. The dust was almost intolerable, and many of the boys suffered from sore eyes in consequence. We passed through the thriving little town of Burlingame about noon.

All along the route some of the boys would call out, "Good-bye!" to some acquaintance they happened to meet, and then the whole regiment, from van to rear, would take up the cry—"Good-bye, Joe!" and the astounded man would stand and look as if he thought he had suddenly acquired a host of friends, and was to lose them as suddenly.

15. Companies D and G left Topeka on the night of November 4, 1868, on a special train bound for Fort Hays, where they were to take up escort duty between the fort and Camp Supply, Indian territory. The remaining ten troops of the regiment marched out of Topeka on November 5 to begin the overland journey to Camp Supply.—Hadley, *loc. cit.*, p. 433; *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, November 6.

On Friday [Saturday?] we got started about daylight. It commenced sprinkling about eight o'clock, and continued until about noon, which made it very disagreeable marching. We marched about a mile and a half from Emporia, on the Neosho river. Here we began to run short of rations, and the boys fared rather slim. The country over which we passed is very rolling, though there are many streams and more good timber than in middle Kansas.

Sunday morning brought with it a cold, drizzling rain. We were on the march early, and passing through Emporia,¹⁶ a thriving city of about the size of Manhattan, we bore to the southwest, and marched all day through a steady rain, and camped on Elm creek, sixteen miles from Emporia. Here we literally camped in the mud; and the boys having hardly anything to eat, and it being very cold, they were not in a very good situation to enjoy soldiering, and many fervently wished they were safe at home.

It rained almost all night, and early the next morning it commenced to sleet, and it froze our saddles very stiff and hard, and we had a very hard time generally saddling up. While we were standing in line, waiting for the command to mount, a driving snow storm set in, and continued till about ten o'clock in the forenoon, when it cleared off and the sun came out. A loud cheer burst from the regiment at the grateful appearance of old Sol.

We camped at Mercer Springs, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the men built large fires and dried their blankets and clothes. We had no food issued to us except a little flour and meat, and we would not have had even that, if our captain and lieutenants had not bought some.

Early Tuesday morning we were on the march. It was a splendid day, though rather cold, and the boys were in good spirits, though ardently wishing for some hard-tack and "sow-belly." We camped on a branch of Cottonwood creek, right in the brush, though a part of the regiment was out in the open prairie. We passed through a splendid country, abounding in level prairies, and streams, and timber.

Wednesday morning opened clear and beautiful. We were on the march long before sunrise, and marched all day, over a beautiful, rolling prairie. We camped Wednesday night on Walnut creek, a fine stream and well timbered.

16. Hadley, p. 434, says that as the column passed through Emporia about nine o'clock in the morning of November 7, three men were standing in front of the office of the *Emporia News*, "the biggest crowd we saw." He also says that scarcity of wagons had limited the rations carried to five days between Topeka and Camp Beecher (Wichita). This would have been ample subsistence for seasoned soldiers, but the recruits nearly starved. The men bought food along the route.

Thursday we marched over a high prairie, in the face of a tremendous wind. We reached Wichata [Wichita] about three o'clock in the afternoon. Here we expect to stay a few days to recruit our horses. The boys are all in the best of spirits, and eager to have a brush with the "red skins." The weather is very fine, though cool. We are camped near the mouth of the Little Arkansas river; about a quarter of a mile from Wichata, which is composed of a few log buildings, and a small fort and stockade, in which are stationed one company of the three months' men, and one company of regulars.¹⁷ Some of the dwellings are built like Indian tepees, and some are built under ground, with a barrel for a chimney.

There have been no desertions from our company, but nearly every other company has lost more or less, one company being reported as having fifteen deserters. We will in all probability stay here four or five days, when it is supposed we will move about two hundred miles southwest.

We have so far lost no men or horses, though we have two or three of the former on the sick list.

Very respectfully, etc., A. L. R.

CAMP NORTH CANADIAN, IND. TER.

December 5, 1868.

[Published January 2, 1869.]

EDITOR STANDARD:—Instead of remaining at Wichita two or three weeks, as we supposed was our destiny, we were on the march early Friday morning, the 13th of November.¹⁸ We marched over a rolling country, very sandy, and towards night, camped on Standing Turkey creek, a small stream about fifteen miles south-west of Wichita. Here we saw our first buffalo in the distance, and one of our scouts, Apache Bill, killed two. The next day we saw buffalo in large herds, and numbers of them were killed. We camped, late in the afternoon, on the Nemesquaw [Ninnescah] river, quite a large stream, although almost entirely destitute of timber. Here our provisions run short, and to add to our discomfort it commenced to blow and rain very hard. In the night it froze hard, and some of our men suffered very severely from the cold, some of them being so stiff next morning that they could hardly sit on their horses. This day we saw great numbers of buffalo, and as our "hard-tack" had

17. This was Camp Beecher, now in the Wichita city limits. See Hortense Balderston Campbell, "Camp Beecher," printed in *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. III, pp. 172-185.

18. Hadley, pp. 435, 436, says that at Camp Beecher Colonel Crawford was confronted with a serious difficulty. He could secure only five days' rations and three days' forage with which to carry 1,100 unseasoned soldiers and approximately the same number of horses some 160 miles across desert land in a most unpropitious season. Therefore he was forced to lose no time in camp.

given out, we had to live entirely on buffalo meat, without salt or pepper. The boys were all eager to hunt buffalo, and every herd that came in range was sure to get a volley from them, at their risk of being dismounted and having to walk all day. In the evening, after we camped, Captain Moody went out with three men, on foot, and killed a buffalo, about four miles from camp, and carried the hind-quarters in on their backs. The first lieutenant also went out and killed one, and the company had plenty of buffalo meat.

For several days we had splendid weather, and were not out of sight of buffalo. The whole country was covered with buffalo grass, a very short, wiry, tuffy kind, and very nutritious.

Our boys now began to feel the want of bread severely, and they had not always enough buffalo meat even.

At Medicine Lodge creek, we had a stampede and lost about 150 or 200 horses. We had to lay over here one day to hunt for them. All but about seventy-five were recovered.¹⁹

On Saturday night we camped on a small stream, destitute of water. Lieutenant [Mount A.] Gordon, with a detail of twenty-three men, started on a buffalo hunt. When about three miles from camp they ran on to a very large herd, and in about fifteen minutes killed nineteen buffalo. This is called the champion hunt, of the march. If they could have brought all the meat into camp it would have greatly relieved the sufferings of the men. As it was, however, they could bring in only a small part.

On Saturday night it commenced to snow, and continued all day Sunday. Early on Sunday morning [November 22] Capt. Blily [Allison J. Pliley] started with a detail of the best men and horses, to try and find the wagon train which was to meet us somewhere in that part of the country.²⁰

Our horses were now so weak for want of corn that we had to walk nearly all the time. The only food they got was by digging under nearly fourteen inches of snow; and as the men were also weak for want of proper food, we had to march very slow. We camped that night on Round Pond creek, a small stream, but with a great deal of timber on it. Here the men suffered more than at any other time; and as it snowed all that night and the next day,

19. The camp at which this incident occurred was located near the present town of Kiowa.—See Hadley, *loc. cit.*, p. 436. Hadley reports Governor Crawford as saying that all but six of the missing horses were brought in later.

20. Captain Pliley, A troop, and Lt. Jesse E. Parsons, C troop, with fifty of the best-mounted men in the regiment, were sent forward to find General Sheridan and cause supplies to be sent back to the men, according to the account of Horace L. Moore, then lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, *loc. cit.*, p. 38. See, also, Hadley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 438, 439.

it being also *very* cold, and the men nearly starved, a great many almost barefoot, they suffered almost beyond human endurance. Hundreds would have given anything they possessed for one good meal. I have seen five dollars offered for one small piece of buffalo meat, the size of a silver dollar. One man gave a good pair of buckskin gloves for one hard-tack. Many lay around the fires so nearly starved and frozen that they could scarcely move. Hunters went for buffalo, but most of them returned unsuccessful, as there were none to be seen. It was a terrible state of affairs. They were all exposed to the bitter fury of the storm, without tents, and some of them froze their almost naked feet very badly that night. The men began to talk of the good qualities of horse and mule meat. The officers of the regiment did all they could to alleviate the sufferings of the men. To my own knowledge, the officers of Co. "M" gave nearly all their scanty stock of provisions to the men, and went without themselves.

The next day, Monday, it cleared off late in the morning, and we moved out about noon. We struggled on through snow, ice and starvation, on foot, leading our horses, on a long, terrible march, to a small stream near the Salt fork of the Cimarron river. Here several buffalo were killed by a detachment under Lieut. Hunt,²¹ which temporarily relieved the sufferings of the men.

All along that march, word would come—from where no one knew—that "Grub was only twelve miles ahead," or that "Capt. Blily [Pliley] had found the wagon train and had sent a scout back," and the hopes of the men would raise, only to fall into still greater despondency, by news from headquarters, that there had been nothing heard from the train.

Here we laid over nearly all the next day, when orders came to leave the wagons, all unserviceable horses and all sick or dismounted men.²² We started late in the afternoon, about 450 strong, with a very different appearance from that we made marching out of Topeka, 1,000 strong. Then we marched out gaily, four in rank, close up, with fine, spirited horses, in good order, arms and clothing bright and clean. Now we marched out, in single file, our line strung out about 5 miles, with broken down horses, hardly able to walk. Some of the men almost barefoot, with clothes burned nearly off

21. Lieutenant Hunt must remain unidentified. No officer of that name is included in the regimental roster.

22. Hadley, *loc. cit.*, p. 439, says that in order to reduce the number of men to feed it was decided to divide the regiment, the stronger, with their horses, to proceed without food or camp equipment as best they could to Camp Supply, and the weaker to wait in camp until help reached them. Colonel Crawford and Maj. R. W. Jenkins remained at the camp, and Lieutenant-Colonel Moore led the others.

them, getting too near the fires on cold nights; and thus we left "Starvation Hollow,"²³ as some of the men called it. Several horses gave out before night, and most of their riders took the back track. We marched about ten miles, through deep gullies and canyons, with walls from ten to one hundred feet high on either side. We camped in a deep ravine, with plenty of timber, though no water. It was very cold and disagreeable for the men to camp in the snow, and many froze their feet. We were on the march early next morning through a very rough country and deep snow, and at night encamped in a thick woods. In the evening several Indians were seen, for the first time, on the brow of a hill.

The next day, towards night, we struck [the North Fork of?] the Canadian river. This raised the spirits of the men greatly, as the scouts had said that we would find the train at the mouth of Beaver creek, which empties into the Canadian river, and as soon as we struck it we were sure we were not lost.²⁴

We commenced our march early on Saturday, the 28th. We followed the course of the river, and when we had marched about ten miles, the troops in the advance suddenly commenced cheering. Hardly knowing why, the whole regiment took up the cry and made the woods fairly ring. We then heard that scouts had come in with the inspiring news that Gen. Sheridan, with a train was only five miles ahead. It did not take us long to travel *that* five miles. We got into camp about sundown, and a great many of us got our tents pitched that night, and best of all, we had a good supper.²⁵

On Monday, the 7th Cavalry under Gen. Custer came in from having a fight with the Indians, south of here. They were on the march for three days and night[s] with hardly a thing to eat. One of the principal scouts, who was in the fight, told me that they killed the Indians' picket about nine miles from their camp. They then surrounded the Cheyenne village, and about daylight made a charge, killing sixty Indians, capturing about 20 squaws and 30 papooses and killing about five hundred ponies after capture. The 7th, lost one captain and 19 men killed and about 15 wounded, Major Elliott and fifteen men missing. When last seen Major Elliott was

23. The camp, according to Hadley, *ibid.*, was officially named Camp Hackberry Point, but was called by the men Camp Starvation.

24. Moore, *loc. cit.*, p. 39, says the troop crossed Captain Pliley's trail at noon on November 27, and camped that night on the bank of the Canadian about twenty-five miles below the mouth of Beaver creek.

25. Hadley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 440, 441, says: "This detachment of the Nineteenth made the march from Topeka [to Camp Supply] in twenty-four days on nine days' subsistence and seven days' forage. In twenty-two days of actual marching it averaged over sixteen miles a day. . . ."

pursuing wounded Indians about four miles from the command. It is supposed he has "gone up."²⁶

On Tuesday the remainder of our regiment, which were left behind with the wagons, came up, supplies having been sent to them by Gen. Sheridan, as soon as Capt. Blily [Pliley] arrived, which he did about 3 days before we did.

We made the march of about 300 miles in 25 days, 12 days of which we lived entirely on buffalo meat without pepper or salt, and very often not near enough of that, and got through without losing a man. After leaving the Wichita, we traveled over a country that probably no white man ever traveled before. It was almost a perfect desert. Our horses had to get grass, the only food they had, from under fourteen inches of snow. We followed no trail. Apache Bill is one of the best of guides, and he brought us straight through.

Our officers and men are all in good health and spirits; and not one of the Manhattan boys has been seriously ill or left behind. Our company is considered one of the best in the regiment, and we have the best horses.

Our camp presents a neat and picturesque appearance, and plenty reigns. We have good tents, and plenty of good wholesome food, which, after our recent starvation, makes the men feel happy and contented.

We have just received orders from headquarters that we will move Monday. It is supposed we will move southward to Fort Cobb.

The mails are very uncertain in this country, as the carriers from here to Fort Dodge are often killed by Indians.

FORT DODGE, KAS.,

Dec. 19th, 1868.

[Published January 2, 1869.]

On Sunday, Dec. 5th [6th], it stormed very hard and blew a perfect hurricane. That night we heard that our company was to be detailed to escort a train of about 400 wagons to Ft. Dodge and back.

The next morning was bright and fine. The 19th, and 7th regiments moved out early southward. Our company moved camp nearer to where the regulars were encamped. The next day we moved out about noon, our company in the rear. There was another company with us, some infantry regulars, and a lot of dismounted

26. This was the battle of the Washita, an account of which is given in *ibid.*, pp. 441, 442, footnote.

men. We had the squaws which Gen. Custar captured. Before we left we reduced our company to 50 mounted men. The rest were dismounted, some went with us and some were left behind. We did not march more than five miles on Tuesday and camped on Beaver creek.

On Wednesday we started at about daylight, our company in the advance. We marched over a dreary, cold country, nothing to be seen but hill and plain. Camped about noon on Beaver creek again. We had a line of skirmishers in the advance all day.

Thursday, Dec. 10th, opened very cold and disagreeable. We marched soon after daylight, our company in the rear. About 8 o'clock it commenced to snow and continued at intervals almost all day, but not very fast. All along the route we have been shooting abandoned horses and mules. Uncle Sam must have lost several thousand dollars in horse and mule flesh alone, that day as there were between 20 and 30 killed. Indian hunting is a very expensive business, and we have not yet seen a hostile Indian.

We camped on a small stream near dark. It had not a stick of timber on it, but we had plenty of wood in the wagons, and as we had tents we were pretty comfortable for soldiers.

On Friday we started very early, our company in the advance. Most of the men rather expected to have a brush with the "Reds" but we saw none. We camped on Bear creek [tributary of the Cimarron] about 2 o'clock. Lieut. Graham went out and shot a buffalo, and brought in the hind quarters.

The next day we saw probably millions of buffalo. The whole country was black with them. Numbers of them were killed. We camped this night on the Arkansas river.

In the morning we marched about 9 miles to Ft. Dodge and crossed the river. It took nearly all day to cross the wagons.

The next day we moved across the river again, and camped. We will move for "Camp on North Canadian" tomorrow morning Dec. 18th [15th?]. Capt. Moody is in command of the detachment. He had enough men to make about four companies, coming up. He will have about three going back. This is considered the most perilous part of our campaign, as we have so much valuable property and the Indians are expected to make a dash at any time.

We have had very fine weather during our stay here, and the officers and men are in the best of spirits.

Yours &c.,

A. L. R.

[Published January 16, 1869.]

EDITOR STANDARD:—We had a very pleasant trip to camp on North Canadian, or Fort Beecher, as it is now called. The first day out we camped on Mulberry creek. In crossing the train over the creek, two mule teams became tangled, and one of the drivers was knocked down and run over, the wagon passing over his breast. He was taken up and sent back to Fort Dodge. He was severely, if not fatally, injured. We did not see many buffalo on our trip down.

We laid over [one?] day at Fort Beecher, and then started back with the empty train. While here we learned that Gen. Sheridan had the Indians surrounded somewhere in the Wachita mountains. The boys we left here when we went up the other time, were all well.

One man, belonging to Co. "E," was frozen to death, about three weeks ago. He went after a bucket of water to the river, one cold, stormy night, and never returned. He was found, a week afterward, about a mile from camp, half eaten by the wolves. He must have suffered fearfully, wandering around over the prairie.²⁷

[The remainder of this article is missing from the file.]

FT. DODGE, KAN., Feb. 10, 1869.

[Published March 6, 1869.]

EDITOR STANDARD:—I received your welcome letter this evening. We start for Camp Supply at 4 o'clock tomorrow morning. All the train, and two companies of the 19th—M and G—have moved across the river, and camped on the other side.

Since my last letter there has nothing of importance occurred. In the latter part of December, we made a trip to Fort Larned, where our company gained considerable credit for saving some government horses, out of a military stable. Here four of our men deserted, the first desertions we have had since we marched from Topeka. They took with them three of the best horses in the company.

Our company has been paid off, and the boys all feel rich; consequently some of them condescend to patronize the sutler very liberally, by paying four or five prices for "rot-gut" whisky and

27. "Since the letter from our regular correspondent with the 19th regiment was put into type, we have received, from a special correspondent, the following under date of January 8:

"The regiment is now at Fort Dodge, where it has been for the past four days, the longest it has remained at any one place since it left Topeka. Their principal business seems to be escorting trains from post to post.

"The regiment left Fort Larned on the 3d. On the morning of the same day a fire broke out in one of the stables, at that post, and our Manhattan boys got considerable praise for their prompt action in rescuing from the flames so many of the horses and other valuable property. The fire was first discovered by Frank Burleigh. He immediately reported it to Capt. Moody, who ordered his whole command to the rescue. Alfred Runyan, Angy Holloway and Frank Burleigh were the first to get into the stable, and they deserve great credit.

"The building was three hundred feet in length, and contained sixty-four horses, twenty-five of which were saved by Capt. Moody's company. The balance were destroyed, also thirty tons of hay, five hundred bushels of grain, forty saddles, and six thousand rounds of cartridges."—*Manhattan Standard*, January 16, 1869.

red-eye. Some of the men, however, took care of their money and sent it home.

We made a trip to Fort Hays about two weeks ago, and while there, Capt. Moody took a trip down home.²⁸ While he was gone we had a tremendous snow storm, which effectually blocked up the railroad, so that he had to go across the country from Harker. The train which our company were escorting, got snowed in at Big Timber creek, one day's march from Hays, and did not get into Dodge for eight days.

We have heard little or no news from the regiment; but it is supposed to be still lying at Fort Cobb. It is rumored that Cobb is also *our* destination.

The weather, lately, has been very stormy, and the snow is very deep, in places, between Fort Dodge and Fort Hays, and is consequently very hard on trains, and many a poor mule and broken wagon is "turned over," as it is termed, by being abandoned.

Our men are all in good spirits, and our horses in pretty good condition. Our company is all together again, with the exception of a few left in Fort Dodge and Camp Supply.

Yours, etc.,

A. L. R.

CAMP SUPPLY, Feb. 18, 1869.

[Published March 20, 1869.]

EDITOR STANDARD.—We had a very pleasant journey from Fort Dodge here, with the exception of one night, when it seemed as if the elements were trying which could out-do the other. It rained, snowed, blew, and hailed tremendously. The fourth day out, three scouts came into camp, on their way to Fort Lyon, with dispatches from the regiment. One of them was Ed. Geary, the famous scout and interpreter. He brought news that the 19th was all dismounted, and that the tribes, with the exception of the Cheyennes and Kiowas, are gathered around Fort Cobb drawing rations, and that Gen. Sheridan has expressed his determination of "going for" all Indians caught away from there. He thinks that the war with the Cheyennes

28. "Capt. S. Moody, of Co. M, 19th Kan. Vol. cavalry, was in the city last Sabbath. He came over from Fort Dodge to Fort Hays in command of a detail of thirty men to escort a supply train to the regiment at Fort Dodge, and obtained permission of the commander at Fort Hays to visit his family in this city. The captain came in on Saturday and returned Monday. He is looking well, and reports the boys as well and in good spirits. His company has 94 men for duty and 60 horses. He has lost but one killed (accidentally), and four by desertion. His company, in this respect, though constantly on duty, has fared well. Very few have been sick, and all bore the privations of the long and perilous march from the Canadian river to the Washita mountains with fortitude rarely equalled. They were reduced to the last stages of suffering, and had selected a horse to kill for beef when they reached camp of supply. Our correspondent with the regiment has, however, given a graphic description of this march heretofore. The regiment is now at and near Fort Dodge, and, with the regular troops in the field, are acting simply as guard at the fort and over supplies in the vicinity."—*Manhattan Standard*, February 6, 1869.

is good for all next summer. He says that they number about three thousand effective warriors.

Buffalo are getting scarce. We only saw a few coming down. They have almost all moved south and west. Antelope, however, are very numerous in the sand hills between here and Fort Dodge.

We are laying here waiting for orders from below. Various rumors are afloat. Some are, that we will be dismounted, and others that we will be kept on escort duty as before. It is generally supposed, however, that we will join the regiment. The officers and men of the detachment are in good spirits and expect to have a crack at the "reds," yet, before their discharge.

Yours, &c., A. L. R.

CAMP NORTH FORK WACHITA,
March 13, 1869.

[Published April 10, 1869.]

EDITOR STANDARD:—We left Camp Supply March 3d and marched southward. Company "G" started north at the same time escorting empty wagons, while our company were escorting loaded ones south to the North Fork of the Washita river to meet Gen. Custar, and the 19th.

We camped the first day on the Fork of the Canadian river, about fifteen miles south of Supply. Here we laid over all next day, as it was very stormy, the day Grant was to be inaugurated.

March 5th, we marched about twenty miles over a rough, sandy country, and camped where there was scarcely any water or wood. On the next night we camped on a small stream with plenty of wood and water. Plenty of turkeys were seen and several were killed. All along our route (which is the one Custar took on his march to attack the Indians) we saw indications of recent occupation by the Indians and they must have been in great numbers. The next night we crossed the South Fork of the Canadian and camped on the south bank. The country around is very hilly and in some places nearly mountainous. In some places the formations of earth are so strange that it seems as if nature tried to see how many different shapes she could form.

On the 8th we reached our destination and camped about five miles from the battle field of Gen. Custar. The Nineteenth had not yet arrived, so we camped and prepared to make ourselves as comfortable as possible. The next day a party struck out to visit the battle field. Almost everything was burned. From appearances it

looked as if there had been between forty and fifty lodges. Later accounts of the battle from eye witnesses, say that the 7th were very glad to get out of there, and that there were more of the cavalry than Indians killed. All the advantage they gained was in the first charge on the north side of the creek, where a few lodges were located. The cavalry had much difficulty in crossing a creek between them and the main part of the lodges, so that the warriors got a good position in the woods from which it was impossible to drive them. This was the "Glorious" victory of the 7th. The next day a portion of the 7th cavalry and 19th came in from Medicine Bluff creek. The 19th were all dismounted. About four hundred of them, with the remainder of the 7th are with Gen. Custar on another Indian raid. They are expected in every day.

There is no news of any importance from below. There is a post being built at Medicine Bluff creek by the 10th regular cavalry. Around Fort Cobb thousands of Indians have congregated who desire to keep peace. It is said they are mostly old men, women and children, and that most of the young warriors are out yet. None of the Cheyennes have come in yet. The chief bugler of the 19th was accidentally killed by a glancing shot on their way up.

As soon as Custar comes in we will march to Fort Hays and be mustered out, as our time will be about up. A. L. R.

FORT HAYS, April 8, 1869.

[Published April 17, 1869.]

EDITOR STANDARD:—My last letter was dated at Washita river, Indian territory. On the 24th of March we started north, Major Inman leaving two days rations to await Gen. Custar. We camped that night on Hackberry creek. Here a scout came in from Gen. Custar, who had come to the Washita the same morning just after we left, with orders to send back 25 wagons and escort. Early the next morning Lt. [James] Graham with five men started on a buffalo hunt. While out it commenced to rain. We succeeded in killing three buffalo and then returned to camp, which we found deserted, the command having moved while we were out. After dining on "buffalo straight," we started to overtake the command. We had not gone far when it turned from rain into a severe snow storm with a high wind, and, as we had no overcoats, we suffered severely. After going about ten miles we overtook Capt. Moody and party, who were also on a buffalo hunt. His party all had overcoats and pouches, so that they were comfortable when compared with us. We

overtook the train about four o'clock in the afternoon, having rode, altogether, nearly sixty miles. We camped that night on Wolf creek, and the next day went into Camp Supply. Major Inman started very early next morning for Fort Dodge with an escort of Indian scouts.

On March 28, 1869, we started at noon with a loaded train south to meet Custar. We camped on Wolf creek, and the next afternoon about 3 o'clock we met Custar, and turned around and retraced our steps to a pool of water about 10 miles back.

The 19th and 7th looked "hard." In fact they had seen hard service. The 18th [19th] were dismounted at Fort Cobb, and Custar took a tour through the Washita mountains, marching between 25 and 35 miles a day, which nearly used them up. Custar overtook the Indians and after nearly surrounding them demanded the white women which were captured on the Solomon and Republican rivers last autumn. After parlying some time he succeeded in getting them, but not until nearly all the Indians had left. He got three chiefs which he captured by enticing them into camp upon pretence of making peace. He then commenced making preparations to hang them, which brought in the white women, and Gen. Custar then kept both Indians and women.²⁹ Gen. Custar gives the 19th great praise and says they wore the 7th horses out and then the men. They were always in camp at night an hour before any of the 7th would make their appearance. It is related of the 7th that after the In-

29. Another brief account of the rescue was published in the *Standard*, April 10, 1869: "Most of our readers remember the case of Mrs. Morgan and Miss White, who were captured by the Indians, on the Solomon river, last October. We find the following account of their sufferings in the *Leavenworth Commercial*:

"Captain Payne reports that Mrs. Morgan and Miss White, the former of whom was captured by the Sioux and traded to the Cheyennes, and the latter who was taken by the Cheyennes about seven months since, were rescued by the command and restored to their friends. Their captivity has been an unrelenting scene of cruelty, torture and degradation. Both of these unfortunate women are pregnant, having been compelled by torture to submit to the brutality of their captors. Mrs. Morgan who was a bride of a month expresses a hope, however, that her offspring may be white, and not of that fiendish race that glories in the murder of women and children. They were compelled to do the drudgery of the lodge, to bring the wood, herd the ponies, etc. Twenty-five back loads of wood, which had to be brought from a long distance, was the daily task of each. They were scarcely clothed at all, and were suffering from intense cold. They attempted to warm their hands at the fire, when the Indians would seize them, and hold their hands over the flames until blistered.

"The recital of the many brutalities to which these poor women were subjected should inspire every one with a desire for the condign punishment of the savages, and nothing less than death is at all appropriate or adequate to their desserts.

"The rescue was effected by threats to hang three Cheyenne chiefs, who were prisoners in our camp. The savages resorted to subterfuges to delay in the matter, but when Custar ordered the chiefs hung forthwith, and had the ropes adjusted for that purpose, the women were brought in immediately. Their only clothing consisted of an old flour sack each, tied around their waists, and, as will be imagined, they were in a most pitiful and suffering condition."

For more detailed accounts of this rescue see Hadley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 450-453; Gen. George A. Custer, *Wild Life on the Plains* (Sun Publishing Co., 1883), and "Reminiscences of the Life of Mrs. E. O. [Sarah White] Brooks—Telling of Her Capture by Indians in Early Days," *The Kansas Optimist*, Jamestown, January 26, 1933. Miss White returned to Kansas, and taught a term of school near Clyde. In 1869 she was married to E. O. Brooks and lived in Cloud county until her death at the age of 88, on May 11, 1939.—*The Kansas Optimist*, May 18, 1939.

dians' camp had been destroyed, they pursued a blind squaw, which had been left, with their best horses, but she, knowing the country, made her escape.

At Camp Supply Co. M was dismounted, and we had to "hoof it" to Fort Dodge, at the rate of from 25 to 35 miles per day, which was the utmost cruelty on the men, almost all with blistered feet. Custar *may* gain a name for making long marches in short periods, but he wears out men and animals in doing so. He has few friends among the privates of the 7th and 19th.

The second day out we met Co. G which had been to Dodge and was returning with a loaded train. The train went on to Supply and Co. G retraced their steps with the command to Fort Dodge where they also were dismounted.

At Fort Dodge we found the 10th Colored cavalry, also dismounted. We lay over here, on the south side of the river until next day about noon when the two regiments moved across the river towards Fort Hays, at which place we arrived this morning.

It is generally understood that as soon as the necessary papers are made out, the regiment will be discharged. This is good news, as we have had a very hard campaign, so it will not be long before you will see us around Manhattan.

A. L. R.

MANHATTAN, April 22, 1869.

[Published April 24, 1869.]

EDITOR STANDARD.—On the 18th the 1st battalion of our regiment was mustered out. They went down in the afternoon on a special train which had been provided for them. The next day we were mustered out. Our company was nearly the last. From some cause or other there was no train yet furnished for us. About 12 o'clock in the night a train with only one coach attached came along. Everybody that could find standing room climbed on. Most of the men however had to remain behind.

There were several serious affrays in the city before we left. Several men were killed. Shots were fired at every minute of the night.

At about eleven o'clock the next morning the train started with the remainder of the troops. The men gave three cheers as the train moved out, glad to get away from such a place.

All along the road, at every town or house, and even at every woman that they saw, the soldiers would give three cheers, thus manifesting their joy at arriving at civilization once more. We are all glad to be at home again.

A. L. R.

The Annual Meeting

THE sixty-fourth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society and board of directors was held in the rooms of the Society on October 17, 1939.

The annual meeting of the board of directors was called to order by the president, Robert C. Rankin, at 10 a. m. First business was the reading of the annual report of the secretary.

SECRETARY'S REPORT, YEAR ENDING OCTOBER 17, 1939

The past year has shown a material growth in the number of persons using the resources of the Historical Society, as well as in the organization of our various collections. Our experience confirms reports from other societies that popular interest in local and state history is increasing. Many schools in small towns and rural communities are asking for detailed information about their towns and counties. These demands on the staff do not leave as much time as we could wish for routine work. The supervision of federal projects also requires continuous attention. The work of cataloguing and otherwise organizing our books, relics, documents, pictures and newspapers is progressing, however, as will appear in the reports of the various departments.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Pres. Robert C. Rankin reappointed Justice John S. Dawson and T. M. Lillard to the executive committee, the members holding over being Thomas Amory Lee, Robert C. Rankin and Chester Woodward. At the first meeting of the committee following the annual meeting, Mr. Lee was reelected chairman.

APPROPRIATIONS

The Society was fortunate enough to receive from the 1939 legislature the following, in addition to the regular appropriations: \$15,000 toward the restoration of the north building at Old Shawnee mission; \$3,000 for the erection of a cottage for the caretaker at First Capitol; \$2,400 a year for the employment of a research director; \$1,200 a year for the employment of an extra clerk; \$1,350 for card catalogue cases; and \$500 for microfilming.

Too much credit cannot be given to the retiring president, Robert C. Rankin, for his assistance. As representative from Douglas county and one of the most popular members in the house, Mr. Rankin's help was invaluable throughout the session.

FEDERAL WORK PROJECTS

Two of several work-relief projects submitted to the Society for sponsorship during the past few years have been accepted.

The Kansas section of the American Imprints Inventory was started under the Society's nominal supervision on October 1, 1938. This nation-wide survey is directly supervised by Douglas C. McMurtrie, of Chicago, a widely known authority on imprints. The Kansas unit has employed an average of

twenty workers during the year. More than 40,000 items printed prior to 1877 have been listed, and the Kansas volume, to be published this year, will possibly exceed 350 pages, with at least 1,600 distinct Kansas titles. Many Kansas college and city libraries have coöperated, and their imprint holdings will be credited to them in this volume.

The Historical Records Survey, another national historical project operating in Kansas, came under the Society's nominal sponsorship September 1, 1939. Under this survey, inventories of county records are mimeographed, bound and issued as part of the nation-wide *Inventary of the County Archives* series. Inventories for seven Kansas counties have been published. First listing of records in fifty-five counties has been completed and the project is now operating in thirty-six counties.

Twelve to thirteen persons have been regularly employed in this building sixteen days a month on the Society's unit of the state-wide WPA museum projects. These workers are supervised by the Society's regular staff members, and mention of their work assignments and accomplishments is made in departmental reports. Federal expenditures for the year from October 6, 1938, to October 5, 1939, were \$9,901.34 for salaries. The Society's expenditures for the same period were approximately \$300 for working materials.

The Society's NYA project, employing four young people eight days a month, was discontinued May 28. The federal government expended approximately \$550 in its operation from October, 1938, to the close. One Washburn student is being employed by the Society during the college term through the NYA college student employment program.

Appreciation is due Robert Beine, WPA supervisor assigned to the Society, and Mrs. Harrison Parkman, head of the Professional and Service division of WPA, for their coöperation. Project workers have been industrious and the quality of their work has been generally good.

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH

During the past year the following have been subjects of serious research: *Biography*: Jerry Simpson; James H. Lane; William Allen White; Charles Robinson; Col. Alexander W. Doniphan; Samuel Gompers. *County and town history*: Social welfare situation in Gray county; Abilene as a terminus of the cattle industry; history of Elk county; early history of Reno county; history of Ozawkie; Neosho valley history; early history of Abilene; county-seat fights; the writing of local history. *Economics*: Economic history of Anderson county; township budgets; economic history of Chanute; economic history of the Mennonites; study of bonds. *Education*: Historical outline of the state superintendency in Kansas; history of educational development in Pawnee county; seventy-five years of education in Kansas; Kingman county schools; history of education in territorial Kansas; history of normal schools; school history of Chanute; comparative study of school budgets. *Indians*: Osage Indians in Kansas; Indian war correspondents and the Medicine Lodge treaty; Kickapoo Indians. *General*: Border wars in Kansas, 1856-1859; survey of assessed valuation and population in sixty-three counties in Kansas, 1886-1936; history of railroads in Kansas; social history of the plains; history of trails; history of nursing in Kansas; early California history; comments of foreign travelers in the United States, 1789-1830; milling industry in Kansas prior to 1870; international relations; social conditions in central Kansas in the 1870's; cattle men and old cow trails; Missouri Fur

Company; troupers of the Rockies; social structure of a Kansas village; history of Kansas manufactures; Texas longhorns; relation of tariff to the settlement of the Alabama claims.

LIBRARY

Our records show that reference work increased during the year and that we have had 2,277 requests for information on Kansas subjects; 1,034 requests for genealogy; and 512 requests for material on the West, American history and biography and Indians. From our loan file on Kansas subjects we have filled more than 500 requests, many times sending material on several subjects in answer to one request.

A list of Kansas legislators from 1855 through 1939 was compiled with the help of an NYA worker from Washburn College. Both an alphabetical list and a list by counties were compiled. Articles from *Harper's Magazine* from 1857 through 1875 were selected and marked for cataloguing, giving added material on early Kansas and the West.

Some 60,000 cards have been filed in the Library of Congress depository catalogue, an increase over the year before of about 10,000 cards. Through the WPA project, clippings have been remounted for the vertical biographical file and many have been remounted for binding for volumes of county history and other classified material. Indexing has been continued on the three-volume set of the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*.

The Kansas Chapter of the Daughters of Colonial Wars presented to the library a copy of *Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution*, by J. H. Gwathmey. This is a new book of great value for genealogical research.

When the list of Kansas imprints was completed under the direction of Douglas C. McMurtrie, national editor of the American Imprints Inventory, he wrote us that of the 1,600 Kansas imprints earlier than 1877, over 1,300 were found in this library and over 700 were located in no other library. Mr. McMurtrie said "This is a truly remarkable showing."

To make the material in the library readily accessible, much time is required in classifying and cataloguing. This applies not only to books and pamphlets but also to hundreds of clippings and many magazine articles. Such work must be continued to maintain our standard of efficiency, but since the cataloguers also do reference work, their time is divided to such an extent that another trained librarian is needed. The book fund, too, should be increased so that we can purchase more rare Western and genealogical books, if the library is to keep its high ranking.

PICTURE COLLECTION

More than 400 pictures have been catalogued and added to the picture collection in the past year. We have received a collection of twenty-nine pictures of Fort Leavenworth as it was in the early 1870's; a collection of over fifty pictures of mills in Kansas; a collection of twelve pictures of Russell county scenes; several pictures taken at the seventieth anniversary celebration of Sharon Springs and many other pictures of Kansas people and scenes. Volumes of *Harper's Magazine* from 1857 through 1875 were catalogued for Kansas and Western pictures with NYA help, and 500 cards were added to the picture catalogue.

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Eleven manuscript volumes and 686 individual items were added to the collections of the Society during the year.

Of particular interest among these accessions are letters of Charles Robinson and his wife, Sara T. D. Robinson, received from Miss Hannah Oliver, Lawrence. Thanks are due the Douglas County Historical Society, as well as Miss Oliver, for their coöperation in placing these valuable papers here. The manuscripts date from 1856 to 1901. There are ninety-three letters from Charles Robinson to his wife, 1856-1881, and approximately an equal number from Mrs. Robinson to Frank W. Blackmar, biographer of Charles Robinson. The latter relate mainly to Mr. Blackmar's work on Robinson.

The manuscript of his "History of Kansas Baptists" was received from the Rev. W. A. Seward Sharp a short time before his death. Records of various churches of the Kansas Baptist convention were received from that organization, a total of forty-six manuscripts and nine volumes.

The Dickinson County Historical Society has added fifty-five sketches to the collection of historical and biographical sketches of that county. This local group coöperates at all times with the Society, and an expression of appreciation is here made a matter of record.

Fifty-seven manuscripts from the papers of the Rev. J. J. Lutz, historian of Methodist missions in Kansas, were received from his niece, Dr. Anna B. Yoder, Smithville, Ohio.

A single item of interest is a letter by C. B. Lines, dated at New Haven, Conn., January 1, 1857. The letter relates in part to the affairs of the Connecticut Kansas colony and is written on the back of a plat of the colony's townsit at Wabaunsee.

Among the manuscript volumes are two letter books, 1859-1862, from the office of Theodore Hyatt. These contain many letters to his brother, Thaddeus Hyatt, Samuel Clarke Pomeroy and W. F. M. Arny about Kansas affairs and the imprisonment of Thaddeus Hyatt in Washington.

A manuscript, "Stories and Incidents in My Life," was received from the author, Mrs. Flora Vesta Menninger of Topeka. While the greater part of the manuscript deals with Mrs. Menninger's early life in Pennsylvania, it contains a section on her first years in Kansas. It is a document of unusual interest.

Through the courtesy of the board of county commissioners of Doniphan county, the minutes of the commissioners' court of that county, 1855-1860, have been lent to the Society for copying.

Gifts were received from the following during the year: Edward Bumgardner; C. Q. Chandler and Mrs. Chandler; J. C. Denious; Mrs. Ida A. Doerk; Mary Cook Ellinger estate; Mrs. J. O. Faulkner; Ruth Marie Field; Fort Scott Chamber of Commerce; Blenda Palm Greenwood; Frank Heywood Hodder estate; Lester C. Hoppes; Kansas Baptist convention; Mrs. Cora G. Lewis; Mrs. Ora H. Hunter; Mrs. W. E. McDowell; T. A. McNeal; Mrs. Olive K. Maxwell; Mrs. Flora V. Menninger; Mrs. M. L. Mitchell; C. Clyde Myers; Hannah Oliver; Jennie Small Owen; Paul Parrish; G. A. Pierce; Mrs. A. B. Seelye, for Dickinson County Historical Society; W. A. Seward Sharp; Henry Stuart; Mrs. Elizabeth Swartz; Jessie Wiley Voiles; Edmund A. Whitman; Woman's Kansas Day Club; Sam F. Woolard; Dr. Anna B. Yoder.

STATE ARCHIVES

Accessions received by this division during the past year were limited to 71 manuscript volumes of corporation records from the office of the secretary of state. The Society has now received 181 volumes of this series, covering the period 1863-1936. A total of 172,125 index cards have been prepared and filed with WPA assistance. During the past year 17,550 cards were added. These cards cover charters granted by law prior to 1863 as well as those issued by the secretary of state. Charters for the years 1855-1928 have now been indexed. These records provide a valuable source of information on social and economic development.

This division has had frequent calls during the year for information on United States military roads in Kansas, state and territorial highways, Oregon and Santa Fé trails and old express roads.

Much work has been done on the loose-leaf catalogue of old townsites, discontinued post offices and railroad stations throughout the state. The compilation now fills 26 volumes.

Requests come almost daily from welfare agencies for age verifications of individuals seeking aid. A total of 437 certifications were issued from this department during the year.

The index of the 1860 census of Kansas territory has been carried nearly to completion. Project workers have prepared and filed census cards for more than 100,000 residents. It is planned to omit for the present, at least, the index of census records for 1865 and 1870 and to work on the 1875 records. The latter will be of assistance in issuing age verifications.

Filing cabinets have been secured for both census and corporation index cards.

NEWSPAPER SECTION

The employment of a new assistant on July 1, as authorized by the legislature, is helping to relieve congestion for the present in the newspaper division. The legislature also appropriated a small sum of money for microphotography. This will be used in part to microfilm Kansas newspapers which the Society has been unable to secure and also to commence microfilming the papers in our own files that are most fragile and which cannot be replaced.

The newspapers of this Society are used rather extensively for research work by students of history and literature, and this division is serving an area far beyond the confines of the state. In the past year students of history and literature came here from the University of Illinois, Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, Nebraska University, Pennsylvania University, the University of Texas, Washington University of St. Louis, St. Louis University, Iowa State College, the University of Michigan, and from the cities of Great Falls, Mont.; Lamar, Colo.; Urbana, Ill.; Washington, D. C.; Kansas City, Mo.; Lincoln and Omaha, Neb.; Hamden and Westport, Conn. During the year 4,530 patrons were registered. They consulted 5,361 bound newspaper volumes and 18,357 unbound issues.

The newspaper division prepared two newspaper displays in the Memorial building during the year, one for the national convention of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, the other for the Kansas History Teachers Association.

The 1939 *List of Kansas Newspapers and Periodicals* was published in July. It differs from previous *Lists* in that it is arranged alphabetically by county and city of publication. Under each city or town the papers are arranged alphabetically by title, disregarding city name, frequency and time of day in the title. The *List* shows 749 newspapers and periodicals being received regularly for filing. Of these, 61 are dailies, one triweekly, 10 semiweeklies, 495 weeklies, 30 fortnightlies, one trimonthly, 13 semimonthlies, 75 monthlies, 10 bimonthlies, 21 quarterlies, 29 occasionals, two semiannuals and one annual, coming from all the 105 Kansas counties. Of the 749 publications, 165 are listed Republican, 49 Democratic, 278 independent in politics, 93 school or college, 35 religious, 21 fraternal, 16 local and 92 miscellaneous (including four Negro publications).

On January 1, 1939, the Society's collection contained 45,835 bound volumes of Kansas newspapers, in addition to the more than 10,000 bound volumes of out-of-state newspapers from 1767 to date.

The year's extra accessions have again been valuable. Chief among them were the first ten volumes of the New York *Weekly Tribune*, starting with September 18, 1841, which is volume 1, number 1, to August 30, 1851. The Society now has a practically continuous run of the New York *Tribune* from 1841 to 1930, when it was replaced by the New York *Times*. The first volume of the Ottawa *Triumph* was secured, filling an important gap in the Society's file of this paper. Other papers acquired at this time include three volumes of the *Christian Register*, Boston, from August 30, 1834, to April 11, 1844; five volumes of the *Connecticut Courant*, Hartford, from August 11, 1834, to April 17, 1847, and the first volume of the *Weekly Chronotype*, Boston, from May 28, 1846, to May 20, 1848. Included in the ten bound volumes of the New York *Tribune* were many single issues of other papers, such as the *Peoples Rights*, New York, of September 21, 1844; the *Buffalo Republic*, Buffalo, N. Y., of August 15, 1848, and *Le National* of France, July 7, 1848. The twenty volumes just described, plus numerous single issues not here listed, were purchased by the Society for \$50. Among the important newspapers given to the Society, the following were received from Mrs. F. H. Hodder: The *Lawrence Gazette* of July 11, 1889, the *Weekly Kansas Herald* of Lawrence, November 30, 1883, the *Globe* of the City of Washington, August 31, 1843, and February 29, 1844, the *Press Tribune*, Chicago, of July 30, 1860, and the New York *Herald* of May 20, 1875. The *Kansas Pioneer*, Kickapoo City, of February 28, 1855, was given to the Society by Floyd Shoemaker and Roy T. King of the Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia, Mo. Contributions of other single issues were made by Alma Lord of Rantool, Mrs. D. W. Whitney and Charles D. Yetter of Topeka.

MUSEUM

The attendance in the museum for the year was 39,533, an increase of 5,896 over last year, and 44 objects were accessioned. Among the most interesting was a flag of 39 stars from L. R. Hershey, Olathe. Another is a headstone from the grave of Henry Roushi, of Illinois, who died of cholera, May 8, 1849, in Pottawatomie county, on the Oregon trail. It was donated by William Smith, Wamego. A revolver and holster used during the early days of Kansas by Hugh A. Cook, sheriff of Franklin county, and a dagger and scabbard carried

through the Civil War were presented by Mrs. Ida A. Doerk and Mrs. Olive Maxwell. A flag made by the women of Brown county during the Civil War, was given by Mrs. Daisy Halligan.

ACCESSIONS

Total accessions to the Society's collection for the year ending June 30, 1939, were as follows:

Library:	
Books (volumes)	1,575
Pamphlets	4,293
Magazines (bound volumes)	447
Archives:	
Separate manuscripts	none
Manuscript volumes	71
Manuscript maps	none
Private manuscripts:	
Separate manuscripts	686
Volumes	11
Printed maps, atlases and charts	255
Newspapers (bound volumes)	1,029
Pictures	433
Museum objects	44

These accessions bring the totals in the possession of the Society on June 30, 1939, to the following figures:

Books, pamphlets, bound newspapers and magazines....	385,105
Separate manuscripts (archives)	1,069,984
Manuscript volumes (archives)	27,897
Manuscript maps (archives)	583
Printed maps, atlases and charts	11,271
Pictures	18,774
Museum objects	32,956

THE QUARTERLY

The Kansas Historical Quarterly is now in its eighth year, seven volumes already having been published. Much of the credit for the high standard the magazine has achieved among the state historical magazines of the country should go to Dr. James C. Malin, associate editor, who is professor of history at Kansas University. Doctor Malin's criticisms of articles submitted is invaluable. Nyle H. Miller, research director, deserves credit for his excellent work in checking all citations that appear in the magazine and preparing the manuscripts for the printer. The *Quarterly* is widely quoted by the newspapers of the state and is used in many schools.

OLD SHAWNEE METHODIST MISSION

This year is the one-hundredth anniversary of the erection of the first brick building at Shawnee mission. In commemoration of the event the Society issued this month a book of one hundred twenty pages known as the *Annals of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian Manual Labor School*. It is a condensation of a manuscript of four hundred sixty-five pages compiled by Miss Martha Caldwell, a member of the staff of the Society. It is the result of fifteen months' research and represents the first attempt to bring together all available sources in the history of the mission.

The Society also produced a pageant of the mission in coöperation with the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of 1812, and the Daughters of the American Colonists. Mrs. Lida Weed Myers was employed by the Society to write and direct the pageant and it was presented Saturday night, October 14, in the stadium of the Shawnee Mission Rural High School a few miles from the mission. More than two hundred persons took part in the pageant, including eighty Indians from Haskell Institute, and it was witnessed by more than two thousand persons.

Following the death last fall of Dr. T. J. Vernon, caretaker at the mission, Harry A. Hardy became caretaker January 1, 1939. He is doing good work in looking after these fine old buildings. Since the first of the year the exterior woodwork of the east and west buildings has been painted and much of the interior of the west building was redecorated. The drought damaged many of the trees at the mission and killed a great deal of the bluegrass. L. R. Quinlan, professor of landscape gardening at Kansas State College, Manhattan, made an inspection of the grounds in August. His recommendations for planting and improvements will be carried out so far as appropriations permit.

Work on the restoration of the north building, made possible by the appropriation of \$15,000 by the 1939 legislature, will be started this winter. Last year a request for a PWA project in the amount of \$25,000 for this restoration was disapproved because the state's portion was contingent upon the possibility of securing an appropriation from the legislature. When the legislature appropriated the \$15,000 the request for this project was renewed. It was impossible to begin the work until a decision was made by the government on the project proposal. This decision, which was received in September, was unfavorable. This accounts for the delay in beginning work under the legislative appropriation.

FIRST CAPITOL OF KANSAS

The first capitol, on Highway 40 in the Fort Riley reservation, continues to attract many visitors. During the year ending October 1, 1939, 15,633 persons visited the building, about forty percent being from other states. This is an increase of 1,351 over the preceding year. The exterior woodwork of the building was painted last year and some improvements were made in the grounds. The state architect has prepared plans for the caretaker's cottage to be erected with money appropriated by the 1939 legislature. The first bids, which were opened early this month, had to be thrown out because they were too high. It is hoped that this work can be completed within the next few months.

MARKING HISTORIC SITES

The Historical Society, in coöperation with a special committee of the Kansas Chamber of Commerce and State Highway Department, has been working on a plan to mark and map the principal historic sites in Kansas. The change in administration, followed by changes in the highway department, made it necessary to postpone this work, but we believe it will be possible to continue it by the first of the year.

The Society has collaborated with the highway department in publishing its weekly detour map. The back of this map carries sketches of a number of

historic sites and incidents, prepared by Mrs. Lela Barnes, a member of our staff. Two complete sets of sketches have been furnished for these maps.

THE STAFF OF THE SOCIETY

This report would be incomplete without mention of the members of the staff of the Society. The secretary is pleased to acknowledge his indebtedness to them for the accomplishments noted herein. Recently a splendid appreciation of their work and the resources of this Society came from J. Frank Dobie, professor of English at the University of Texas, and a nationally known writer and authority on the history of the Southwest. He wrote that the Kansas Society was the best state-maintained library in which he had ever worked. The *Dallas News*, September 10, published a signed article by Mr. Dobie under a three-column heading, in which he wrote in part:

"The trail I was following went on through Abilene to Topeka, the capital of Kansas, and right into the library of the Kansas State Historical Society. There are many, many tracks of Texas longhorns and of Texas cowboys in this Kansas collection.

"It is, I believe, the best state library I have had the pleasure of working in. Last year while I was working in the wonderful Bancroft library of the University of California, I was—even in the happiness of work—filled with indignation that Texas has no library of Texas life and history comparable to this California collection. Nor does Texas have a collection of its own materials in print and in manuscript comparable, as respects availability and dignity of setting, to the Kansas collection. . . .

"No, when I consider the wonderful state collections of California and Kansas, and when I consider the wealth of Texas, the boasted patriotism of Texas, . . . I am not proud of Texas. . . .

"In the Kansas newspaper collection I found a file of the *Texas Live Stock Journal*, I have long wished to see. In the file of a weekly newspaper of 1886, I found the serialied chronicle of a Texas cowboy that would make an excellent book. The files of newspapers in the Kansas collection are well bound and well kept. In the University of Texas library many of the old Texas newspapers are in tatters and are falling to pieces. We have plenty of money to bind richly books that nobody reads but none to bind the early Texas newspapers that students constantly consult. . . .

"Go to Kansas to learn how a historical society representing Texas might be dignified. . . ."

Respectfully submitted,

KIRKE MECHEM, *Secretary*.

At the conclusion of the reading of the secretary's report, James Malone moved that it be accepted. Motion was seconded by W. C. Simons.

Mr. Rankin then called for the report of the treasurer, Mrs. Mary Embree, which follows:

TREASURER'S REPORT

STATEMENT OF MEMBERSHIP FEE FUND

From October 18, 1938, to October 17, 1939

Treasury bonds on hand.....	\$3,500.00
Balance, October 18, 1938.....	1,383.50
Life membership fees received to October 17, 1939.....	160.00
Annual membership dues received to October 17, 1939.....	131.00
Interest on treasury bonds.....	146.25
Refund of money advanced for postage.....	283.00
Waste paper sold.....	17.42
Extra copies of <i>Quarterly</i> and <i>Collections</i> sold.....	27.00
Checks sent in for postage on Volume 7 of <i>Quarterly</i>	1.00

Total receipts	<u>\$5,649.17</u>
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Expenditures:

Extra clerk hire.....	\$60.00
Rent of safety deposit box for 1938 and 1939.....	6.60
Flowers	12.03
Repairing clock	4.50
Reporting president's address for 1938 annual meeting.....	15.00
Chairs for 1938 annual meeting.....	4.00
Christmas for janitors, 1938.....	11.50
Printing announcements of 1938 meeting.....	20.75
Premium on bonds of secretary and treasurer.....	10.00
Traveling expenses of secretary and members of staff.....	63.80
Traveling and miscellaneous expenses connected with Shawnee mission pageant	110.92
Money advanced for supplies for WPA projects.....	27.27
Refund of money advanced for renewal of notary commission....	2.00
Renewal of subscriptions.....	132.00
Money advanced for postage.....	317.00
Picture of state house.....	1.50
Radio sound system service for 1938 meeting.....	3.50
Freight bill	1.64
Jayhawk hotel, bill for speaker of 1938 annual meeting and extra dinners	27.71
Paid for speaker for 1938 annual meeting.....	50.00
Purchase of manuscripts.....	100.00
Hauling ..	8.75
Southwestern Bell Telephone Co.....	28.30

Total expenditures	\$1,018.77
Balance, October 17, 1939.....	4,630.40

\$5,649.17

Balance consists of—

Cash	\$1,130.40
Treasury bonds	3,500.00

\$4,630.40

JONATHAN PECKER BEQUEST FUND

Principal, treasury bonds.....	<u>\$950.00</u>
Balance, October 18, 1938.....	53.66
Interest	28.23
Total receipts	<u>\$81.89</u>
Expenditures:	
H. M. Taylor, copy of books, <i>John Hayes, of Dover, N. H.</i>	18.21
Balance, October 17, 1939.....	<u>\$63.68</u>

JOHN BOOTH BEQUEST FUND

Principal, treasury bonds.....	<u>\$500.00</u>
Balance, October 18, 1938.....	69.07
Interest	14.59
Total receipts	<u>\$83.66</u>
Expenditures:	
Frank J. Wilder, <i>The History of Woodstock, Conn.</i>	47.50
Balance, October 17, 1939.....	<u>\$36.16</u>

THOMAS H. BOWLUS FUND

Interest from this fund of \$1,000 is deposited in membership fee fund.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY EMBREE, *Treasurer.*

On motion of R. F. Brock the report was accepted.

The report of the executive committee on the treasurer's report was then called for and read by Thomas Amory Lee.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 17, 1939.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

The executive committee being directed under the bylaws to check the accounts of the treasurer, states that the state accountant has audited the funds of the State Historical Society, the First Capitol of Kansas and the Old Shawnee Mission from the period August 21, 1938, to August 10, 1939, and that they are hereby approved.

THOMAS AMORY LEE, *Member of the Executive Committee.*

There being no objection, the report stood approved.

The report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society was read by Thomas A. McNeal:

NOMINATING COMMITTEE'S REPORT

OCTOBER 17, 1939.

To the Board of Directors, Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations begs leave to submit the following report for officers of the Kansas State Historical Society:

For a one-year term: Thomas M. Lillard, Topeka, president; Dr. James C. Malin, Lawrence, first vice-president; Charles H. Browne, Horton, second vice-president.

Respectfully submitted,

T. A. McNEAL, *Chairman*,
GRACE D. M. WHEELER,
ISABELLE C. HARVEY.

The report was referred to the afternoon meeting of the board.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned until the annual meeting of the Society at 2 p. m.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

The annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society convened at 2 p. m. The members were called to order by the president, Robert C. Rankin.

The annual address by Mr. Rankin follows:

Address of the President

ROBERT C. RANKIN

FROM time immemorial it has been the custom in nearly all organizations and societies I have had anything to do with, for the presidents to render to their respective annual meetings, a report of the year's activities. I have often wondered why.

Invariably, the membership has been kept well informed from time to time by the secretary's office.

In this Society it is provided that the secretary shall make a report of the year's activities, and those of you who were here for the meeting this morning know that has been most ably done.

Let me say to you at the outset that all the credit for whatever may have been accomplished during the past year is due to our very industrious and competent secretary, Kirke Mechem, and his staff of assistants. He has served you well, has served your president efficiently and deserves hearty commendation from both.

Most of my predecessors in the office of president of your Society have been chosen from that privileged group of individuals who actually had a living part in the founding and building of our state. They told you some of their personal experiences as pioneers, recalling for you the perils of hardy adventure in their early days.

I was privileged, as a boy, to sit at my father's knee and listen to the telling of his early experiences, filled with excitement, and something of the part he played with other men of his time, who were both adventurers and idealists. I am still convinced that his was no small part in the winning of the West, although I realize now that he was only a young man among the many like him.

For my part, I propose to avail myself of the prerogatives of my office and deliver to you a few random thoughts which I think timely and vastly more important at the moment than any report or recitation I could give you of events in the early history of our state.

In Washington, D. C., there stands a building, one of those recently built in what is called the Triangle, a building that was long needed for the proper care and preservation of the records and documents of our official general government. This National Archives building was authorized by congress in 1913, but the World War caused delay and the first appropriation was not made for its construction until 1926. Ground was broken in 1931; President Hoover laid the cornerstone in 1933, and the building was occupied in 1935.

By an act passed in 1934 congress established the National Archives to administer the materials to be transferred to this building. It has two fundamental objectives: (1) The concentration and preservation in a central depository of the archives of the United States government. (2) The arrangement and administration of these archives so as to make them easily accessible to officials and students who desire to use them.

If you have not visited this building, I advise you to do so when in Washington. You will find it well worth-while just to see the two murals by Barry Faulkner, and meet the founders of our nation face to face.

The building faces south on Constitutional avenue. The broad steps leading up to the massive doorway are flanked by two pedestals supporting heroic size allegoric statues, "Guardianship" and "Heritage"; and carved below them is the significant inscription:

Eternal vigilance is
the price of Liberty.

Under the other we read:

The Heritage of the past
is the seed that brings forth
the Harvest of the future.

The Kansas Historical Society, as you must know, was organized

at the annual convention, April 7, 1875, of the Kansas State Editorial Association held at Manhattan.

NOTE: Sixty years before the National Archives was organized.

The following were declared to be the objects of our Society: "To collect, embody, arrange and preserve a library of books, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary and other materials illustrative of the history and antiquities of the state; to rescue from oblivion the memory of its early pioneers, and to obtain and preserve narratives of their exploits, perils, hardy adventures and patriotic achievements; to exhibit faithfully the past and present condition and resources of Kansas, and to take proper steps to promote the study of history by lectures and other means for the diffusion of information relative to the history and resources of the state."

As early as 1876 the Society was made a public depository of documents published by the United States government.

The Society began as a voluntary association, without recognition by the state, but its collections were brought into the state house from the first. Soon the value of its work became recognized by the state; means were appropriated by the legislature for its support, and rooms in the capitol were designated for its use.

In 1879 a law was passed making the Society the trustee of the state, and defining its duties and its relation to the state. The law declares the collections of the Society to be the property of the state, and the Society has accepted the conditions imposed by this provision. The law broadened the scope of the work of the Society beyond that of a mere collection of Kansas historical materials, to that of making up a general library of reference, especially in the departments of history, science, sociology, and the useful arts.

Just why the general government at Washington was so long in providing for the proper care of what has become priceless material is not easy to explain here.

We are told that they have found their materials in all sorts of out-of-the-way places, attics, cellars, warehouses and piled in vaults, damaged and much of it lost forever.

We are impressed more than ever with the foresight and vision of the men who founded this Society, when the state was young, memories fresh and a true picture the more easily painted.

The providing of this building was an evidence of the value and interest placed upon what had and could be done in preserving our records of the past for the future generations.

We have a great responsibility here to see that the work is carried on. The Society has many strong and influential members who are familiar with its work and responsibilities as even you who attend the meetings and carry on the work.

You, I know, are all quite familiar with the virtues of our Society, what it contains, what it stands for, what it does for the state and its members, but does the average garden variety of lay citizen of this state know about it in the way he should? I am afraid he does not.

The younger generation of newspaper men know that we are on their free list, probably most of them know that we have the most complete newspaper files in the country.

The library contains one of the most complete collections of historical publications in the West. The museum is outstanding in its field and is visited by great numbers of people, but its fame may lead many to suppose that the Society is more or less a repository for relics of the past—a place only for curios and artifacts.

My experience last winter made me wonder. I found quite a number of the members of the legislature, representatives of the people of this state, who knew little or nothing at all about the Kansas State Historical Society and Department of Archives, not even its correct name, to say nothing of its functions. It was a surprised legislator who came over with a committee to inspect the building regarding needed repairs, and casually mentioned the fact that when they left the house a bill was under discussion regarding the registration and regulation of brands on livestock in the counties of the state.

He was asked if he would like to see some cattle brands that have been recorded and are in the files of the Society.

He said he was interested in the cattle business and had a brand; a quick reference and the attendant showed him the record and design of his brand. He was speechless from amazement. He then learned that we have here in the files over 17,000 brands used by the stockmen of the state, from early times. It is only one of the many valuable and interesting items the Society has in its collections, for the benefit of our citizens.

Our obligation to record and preserve the history of our state, from its very beginning presents an ever-broadening field which grows more interesting as the lights and shadows reflect upon our understanding of times and events.

The Society has just celebrated, on October 14 and 15, the one hundredth anniversary of Shawnee Methodist Mission and Indian

Manual Labor School founded by the Rev. Thomas Johnson. A pageant was presented with the help and coöperation of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society and other patriotic organizations. This property, now owned by the state, is under the direct charge and care of this Society. An appropriation was made by the present legislature for the restoration of the north building, one of the three original buildings now standing and possibly holding more of historic interest than the others.

There is a great amount of work to be done and many valuable historic resources will be lost if not properly cared for before it is too late.

Some historic "spots" have been placed under the care of the Society; the Pawnee capitol, Shawnee mission and Pike's Pawnee village are well known.

The Oregon Trail Memorial Association, Inc., founded by Ezra Meeker, has a program to mark all historic trails in the West, particularly the Oregon trail and its branches, and the Pony Express. John G. Ellenbecker of Marysville is the regional director for Kansas, and has given much of his time to the undertaking.

Other organizations have made their contribution by marking and preserving the memories of places and events. The marking of the Santa Fé trail was a major undertaking and well done. A few other local and small monuments have been placed.

The Kansas State Chamber of Commerce has sponsored the marking of historic places of interest on or contiguous to the state highways, that may attract tourists who pass this way. The Society has furnished a list of 100 places that are worthy of attention, and the highway department has agreed to erect and care for the markers. This is one of the things the directors and members of this Society should encourage and assist in promoting.

The monument in Gage park here in Topeka, just being completed, is erected to the fame and glory of the Native Sons and Daughters of Kansas. It tells the story from the meeting of the Indians by the Spanish explorers, then shows American scouts followed by emigrants and settlers, the first farmers, boys and girls, homemakers, founders of our schools, and our industry and commerce. This monument is perhaps the first of any real proportions yet erected in this state.

A monument of outstanding beauty and size has been proposed to honor the memory of every pioneer of the state, to be erected on the campus of the University of Kansas. It has been endorsed and

sponsored by the Old Settlers Society and the Douglas County Historical Society, by the Board of Regents, and by many prominent citizens of the state. When this is built it will be worthy of our state and the men and women who made it. It should become a shrine known all over the land.

In a recent address Rolla Clymer, secretary of the newly-created Kansas Industrial Development Commission, said that one of the objectives of the commission would be the promotion of our recreational resources, the publicizing of our natural and historic places of interest to the tourists and the citizens of the state.

We as a Society can subscribe to that program fully. I am sure the commission will have our hearty coöperation in every way possible.

There are many places of natural interest that should be taken over by the state for preservation. They will become real assets to the people of the state when developed properly for their recreation.

The Kansas Academy of Science began a study in 1931 of certain areas in the state which, because of scenic beauty, geological interest and ecological reasons, should be preserved for posterity. Two years ago their committee reported on one place and urged the director of the United States National Park Service to recommend to the President that "Rock City," an area of giant concretions, approximately three miles southeast of Minneapolis in Ottawa county, be set aside as a national monument. The area is not only strikingly unique geologically, but is not duplicated anywhere else in the world. The academy issued a pamphlet setting forth a detailed description and a map, with a request for support from other organizations of the state. As far as I am able to learn, nothing has come of the request.

A *Bulletin* of the University of Kansas, entitled "Scenic Kansas," by Dr. Kenneth K. Landes, describes "Rock City" along with twelve other places of great interest and value, as recreational and historic centers if and when developed for that purpose. This bulletin came out in 1935 and I believe is still available.

A joint resolution by the committee on state parks and memorials was introduced and passed by the house of representatives in the last session of the legislature, which provided that "Rock City" of Ottawa county, Monument Rocks, the Sphynx and Castle Rock in Gove county, and Natural Bridge in Barber county be placed under the care of the State Historical Society, whenever the areas named in the act should be deeded to the state without cost.

The measure failed in the senate because an estate holding title to "Rock City," would not accept the amount of money the citizens of Minneapolis had raised to pay for the land in order to present it to the state. All other areas were agreed upon without charge by the owners. The resolution came up so late in the session there was not time for the proponents of the measure to get the "Rock City" matter adjusted and it was lost in the senate committee.

I believe all these places and others should be taken over by the state for their protection and preservation because they have great value as recreational centers, and will attract many tourists and sight-seers to our state. They have an economic value for that reason. The chalky rocks of Gove and Logan counties are famous over the world for the fossils that have been found in them. They have been worked for many years without restriction and will become a total loss if not controlled.

It is my belief that the state should have a department of conservation to administer these and perhaps other historic places for the benefit of our future generations.

Now let me close by telling you that my tenure of office has been an interesting experience. I assure you I have appreciated the honor of being your president far more than I can tell you. I can only thank you and hope my successor will find it as enjoyable as I have.

An address by Henry J. Allen on "Propaganda in Posters" followed the address of the president. This was a discussion of the World War posters displayed in the lobby, a collection assembled by Mr. Allen during the period of his service in Europe and presented by him to the Society. The collection numbers 173 items and is one of the finest in the country.

Mr. Allen was in his best form as a public speaker and adroitly extended his subject to include pungent comment on current trends and the national outlook.

The report of the committee on nominations for directors was then called for:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS FOR DIRECTORS

OCTOBER 17, 1939.

To the Kansas State Historical Society:

Your committee on nominations begs leave to submit the following report and recommendations for directors of the Society for the term of three years ending October, 1942:

Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Morrison, T. F., Chanute.
Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.	Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	O'Neil, Ralph T., Topeka.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Kagey, Charles L., Wichita.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
Kinkel, John M., Topeka.	Stone, Robert, Topeka.
Lee, Thomas A., Topeka.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
McFarland, Horace E., Junction City.	Woodward, Chester, Topeka.
Malone, James, Topeka.	

Respectfully submitted,

T. A. McNEAL, *Chairman*,
 GRACE D. M. WHEELER,
 ISABELLE C. HARVEY.

On unanimous vote of the members of the Society, the report of the committee was accepted and the members of the board were declared elected for the term ending October, 1942.

The reports of representatives of other societies were called for. Mrs. M. Y. Griffin, president of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society presented the report of that organization. The Rev. Angelus Lingensfelder, secretary of the Kansas Catholic Historical Society, presented the report of that society. The secretary reported the receipt by mail of the report of the Riley County Historical Society. He also spoke of the generally flourishing condition of local societies, mentioning in particular the Lyon County Chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society with more than 400 paid members.

John C. Nicholson, of Newton, reported on his effort to compile a list of settlers of Harvey county who arrived prior to 1877.

There being no further business the annual meeting of the Society adjourned.

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The afternoon meeting of the board of directors was then called to order by Mr. Rankin. He asked for a rereading of the report of the nominating committee for officers of the Society. On motion of James Malone, seconded by H. C. Raynesford, the following were unanimously elected:

For a one-year term: Thomas M. Lillard, president; Dr. James C. Malin, Lawrence, first vice-president; Charles H. Browne, Horton, second vice-president.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

DIRECTORS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AS OF
OCTOBER, 1939

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1940

Austin, E. A., Topeka.	Lindsley, H. K., Wichita.
Berryman, J. W., Ashland.	Means, Hugh, Lawrence.
Brigham, Mrs. Lalla M., Council Grove.	Morgan, Isaac B., Kansas City.
Brock, R. F., Sharon Springs.	Oliver, Hannah P., Lawrence.
Bumgardner, Edward, Lawrence.	Owen, Mrs. Lena V. M., Lawrence.
Correll, Charles M., Manhattan.	Patrick, Mrs. Mae C., Satanta.
Davis, W. W., Lawrence.	Payne, Mrs. L. F., Manhattan.
Denious, Jess C., Dodge City.	Reed, Clyde M., Parsons.
Fay, Mrs. Mamie Axline, Pratt.	Rupp, Mrs. W. E., Hillsboro.
Frizell, E. E., Larned.	Schultz, Floyd B., Clay Center.
Godsey, Mrs. Flora R., Emporia.	Shirer, H. L., Topeka.
Hall, Mrs. Carrie A., Leavenworth.	Uhl, L. C., Jr., Smith Center.
Hegler, Ben F., Wichita.	Van de Mark, M. V. B., Concordia.
Jones, Horace, Lyons.	Wark, George H., Caney.
Kelley, E. E., Garden City.	Wheeler, Mrs. Grace D. M., Topeka.
Lillard, T. M., Topeka.	Woolard, Sam F., Wichita.
	Wooster, Lorraine E., Salina.

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1941

Aitchison, R. T., Wichita.	Malin, James C., Lawrence.
Baughner, Charles A., Ellis.	Moore, Russell, Wichita.
Capper, Arthur, Topeka.	Morehouse, George P., Topeka.
Carson, F. L., Wichita.	Price, Ralph R., Manhattan.
Chandler, C. Q., Wichita.	Raynesford, H. C., Ellis.
Dawson, John S., Hill City.	Russell, W. J., Topeka.
Doerr, Mrs. Laura P. V., Larned.	Smith, Wm. E., Wamego.
Doran, Thomas F., Topeka.	Solander, Mrs. T. T., Osawatomie.
Ellenbecker, John G., Marysville.	Somers, John G., Newton.
Hobble, Frank A., Dodge City.	Stevens, Caroline F., Lawrence.
Hogin, John C., Belleville.	Stewart, Donald, Independence.
Huggins, Wm. L., Emporia.	Thompson, W. F., Topeka.
Hunt, Charles L., Concordia.	Van Tuyl, Mrs. Effie H., Leavenworth.
Knapp, Dallas W., Coffeyville.	Walker, Mrs. Ida M., Norton.
Lilleston, W. F., Wichita.	White, William Allen, Emporia.
McLean, Milton R., Topeka.	Wilson, John H., Salina.
McNeal, T. A., Topeka.	

DIRECTORS FOR YEAR ENDING OCTOBER, 1942

Beeks, Charles E., Baldwin.	Mechem, Kirke, Topeka.
Beezley, George F., Girard.	Morrison, T. F., Chanute.
Bonebrake, Fred B., Topeka.	Norris, Mrs. George, Arkansas City.
Bowlus, Thomas H., Iola.	O'Neil, Ralph T., Topeka.
Browne, Charles H., Horton.	Philip, Mrs. W. D., Hays.
Embree, Mrs. Mary, Topeka.	Rankin, Robert C., Lawrence.
Gray, John M., Kirwin.	Ruppenthal, J. C., Russell.
Hamilton, R. L., Beloit.	Ryan, Ernest A., Topeka.
Harger, Charles M., Abilene.	Sayers, Wm. L., Hill City.
Harvey, Mrs. A. M., Topeka.	Simons, W. C., Lawrence.
Haucke, Frank, Council Grove.	Skinner, Alton H., Kansas City.
Kagey, Charles L., Wichita.	Stanley, W. E., Wichita.
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Lee, Thomas Amory, Topeka.	Trembly, W. B., Kansas City.
McFarland, Helen M., Topeka.	Walker, B. P., Topeka.
McFarland, Horace E., Junction City.	Woodward, Chester, Topeka.
Malone, James, Topeka.	

Bypaths of Kansas History

"GONE TO KANSAS TO HUNT BUFFALO AND ABOLITIONISTS"

From *The Kansas Weekly Herald*, Leavenworth, November 22, 1856.

On calling yesterday at the room of our friend, Dr. Reese, we observed the following most singular notice posted on the door: "Gone to Kansas to Hunt Buffalo and Abolitionists." We certainly wish our friend success in this most romantic tour, and may he capture many of the four as well as the two legged beasts; and may his hours pass pleasantly by while bounding o'er the widespread prairies—the hunting grounds of the Far West; and, in his encounter with the Abolitionists, may he prove a noble champion. As the knights of old, be found contesting the field with dexterous skill. May success accompany him in all his undertakings.—*Alabama Journal*, Montgomery [?], 20th ult.

TOWN BOOMERS AND THEIR ADVERTISING

Glib-tongued promoters of new towns in Kansas territory employed all the arts of advertising to bring settlers to their townsites. Many settlers who were not primarily interested in town real estate development were disgusted with the obvious exaggerations of the "boomers." Sol. Miller of Ohio, when he came to Kansas in 1857, was so annoyed that he rapped the speculators in the first number of his *White Cloud Kansas Chief*, issued June 4, 1857.

Strangers have no idea how thickly settled Kansas already is. The towns are spread over her surface as thickly as fleas on a dog's back. We said towns—we meant to say cities; for we have nothing but cities out here—and the proprietors are bound to let people know it, too; for they stick city to the name of every town. We venture to say, there is scarcely a store or tavern in the union, in which there is not posted in a conspicuous place, town plats of some large city in Kansas or Nebraska, a majority of which do not contain a single house! Travelers out here are not aware, unless they are told, that they are passing through cities every few miles of their journey—such as Tadpole City, Prairie City, Opossum City, et cetera. Each one, of course, is bound to make the most important place in the West!

In another column, Miller continued:

A company of capitalists from Buncombe county, North Carolina, have recently arrived in the territory, and purchased a Gopher hole, in a high bluff on the river, where they have laid out a new town, which they have appropriately named Gopher City. The place already contains a first-class whiskey shop (kept by a church member in good standing), a gas mill, one dry goods store (dry enough, in all conscience), one ox-team, three speculators' offices,

and one private residence. A large hotel is just being finished, where persons can obtain the best of accommodations, at ten dollars per week, and find themselves! The town must necessarily become the most important point on the Missouri river, above New Orleans!

A glance at the town plat, which can be seen in all country groceries throughout the union, will convince anyone of this fact. It has a permanent landing at all seasons, as the bluff, during high waters, is very near the river. It will certainly be the terminus of the Wind Line and Gasport railroad, and the entire country back to the Pacific ocean must necessarily be dependent upon it for supplies of grog and tobacco. One great advantage possessed by this city is, that from the bluff you can see the towns of Hardscrable and Groundhog's Glory. A vast amount of building is *talked* of, this summer, and persons desirous of purchasing shares, would do well to invest soon, as there is great excitement in regard to the place, and every time a stranger inquires the price of shares, they advance fifty percent. A steamboat ran aground opposite the place, a few days ago, and lay there one day and night, during which time the price of shares was doubled. Persons wishing to invest, will call at the office of Messrs. Blow & Skinner, Bullfrog street, Gopher City.

We have received no lot nor town share for this puff; therefore, it may be *re-lied* upon.

Similar propaganda tempted John J. Ingalls to leave a Boston law office to try his luck in Kansas. Three miles south of Atchison John P. Wheeler had projected the town of Sumner in 1856. He engaged an Eastern artist to make a lithograph of his city—not as it existed, but as it was visioned by the promoter. One of these prints fell into the hands of Ingalls and enticed him to go West. He arrived in Sumner on October 4, 1858, and the shock he received on landing at the levee was recalled in a clever bit of satire which he wrote in a letter, later quoted by Sheffield Ingalls in his *History of Atchison County, Kansas* (1916), pp. 93, 94.

That chromatic triumph of lithographed mendacity, supplemented by the loquacious embellishments of a lively adventurer who has been laying out town sites and staking off corner lots for some years past in Tophet, exhibited a scene in which the attractions of art, nature, science, commerce and religion were artistically blended. Innumerable drays were transporting from a fleet of gorgeous steamboats vast cargoes of foreign and domestic merchandise over Russ pavements to colossal warehouses of brick and stone. Dense, wide streets of elegant residences rose with gentle ascent from the shores of the tranquil stream. Numerous parks, decorated with rare trees, shrubbery and fountains were surrounded with the mansions of the great and the temples of their devotion. The adjacent eminences were crowned with costly piles which wealth, directed by intelligence and controlled by taste, had erected for the education of the rising generation of Sumnerites. The only shadow upon the enchanting landscape fell from the clouds of smoke that poured from the towering shafts of her acres of manufactories, while the whole circumference of the undulating

prairie was white with endless, sinuous trains of wagons, slowly moving toward the mysterious region of the Farther West.

Ingalls forgave the deception and lived in Kansas to become a renowned United States senator. Copies of the lithograph which brought him are preserved in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society. The town prospered only a short time and died.

THIS BUSINESS OF FINDING A WIFE

From the *Freemen's Champion*, published by S. S. Prouty at Prairie City (Douglas county), July 2, 1857. The advertisements were repeated in several succeeding issues.

Our young lady readers will find something for their especial benefit in the cards headed "Matrimony."

[Advertisement.]

"It is not good for man to be alone." Thus said the apostle, and how emphatically and forcibly is that wise saying illustrated in Kansas.—Here, where man is deprived in a great measure of the elevated and refined influences of the better sex, man becomes careless, indifferent in regard to his demeanor and personal appearance, and degenerates into a state but a few degrees above the brute. The undersigned, having arrived at that age when single blessedness has lost all its charms, desires to venture into the order of benedicts. He wants a woman with a kind and affectionate disposition, accomplished in music and dancing, handsome, between the ages of 15 and 20. As it is a *wife* that he wants; and not *money*, he is not particular whether she is favored with the "dimes" or not, though if she fully meets with his requirements, and happens to be troubled with "filthy lucre," he will not consider it a very serious objection. The advertiser is 24 years of age, is considered good looking, neither indulges in the use of ardent spirits, nor tobacco, has enough property and an income sufficient to comfortably maintain a family, and is possessed of a warm and confiding heart. He wants a tendril to cherish. If this meets the eye of a lady answering his description, who wants a companion of this stripe, she will please address him through the postoffice at Prairie City, K. T.

Orsemus Poe.

[Advertisement.]

DEAR COLONEL:—Will you please to announce me as a candidate for matrimony? You can state that my age is 21; used to be considered good looking by the girls when I lived in the states, though somewhat uncouth in my appearance now; am hale, hearty, strong, and full of fun and frolic; have been, and am sometimes now, a little wild, but think I should be steady as a deacon, if I had a congenial partner to love and protect.—I am not rich, nor indulge in no expectation of ever falling heir to a legacy, though my prospects for the future are as flattering as the generality of young men at my age, who have kicked their own way through the world alone. I am anxious to correspond with a handsome, witty, intelligent young lady, between the ages of 16

and my own age, with the view of forming a matrimonial alliance. I don't care whether she is worth a cent, pecuniarily, or not, if she has the accomplishments of a lady, and is pretty.

Your friend, Ned Bowers.

[Advertisement.]

The advertiser is anxious to obtain a partner to participate and share with him in his joys, and sympathize with and soothe him in his afflictions. His age is 28; is considered passably good looking, and has enough of this world's goods to enable himself and partner to live comfortably. The lady of his choice would be one between the ages of 18 and 25, of an amiable disposition and sympathizing heart, a healthy constitution, with at least an ordinary education, and a thorough knowledge of domestic duties. He is not particular in regard to looks, though he would, of course, prefer one as handsome as himself! Such a lady, wishing to link her destinies with one of the sterner sex of his description, will please address "Johnson," Prairie City, Kansas.

Freemen's Champion, August 13, 1857.

We learn that at the land sales at Osawkee unmarried men were obliged to pay 25 cents per acre more for land than married men. In behalf of this unfortunate class of individuals we strongly protest against this outrageous proceeding. In the states, where girls are plenty, we would shout "Amen!" to all such operations; but here, where "ribs" are so scarce that nearly all our bachelors are made so from necessity, owing to their inability to obtain the article, we do think this taxation levied upon them entirely unjust and tyrannical. Can it be that the incorrigible old woman-hater of the White House had a hand in this matter? It does look reasonable.

Freemen's Champion, August 20, 1857.

The last mail brought Ned Bowers two letters—responses to his matrimonial advertisement. Good luck for you, Ned!

Freemen's Champion, September 10, 1857.

Pleasant Retreat, Peoria City, K. T.,

August 26th, 1857.

EDITOR OF THE CHAMPION—DEAR SIR: In looking over your paper of the 6th inst., I discovered an advertisement which interested me, as I am a candidate for the same office of which it speaks. It reads somewhat thus:—"DEAR COLONEL, will you please to announce me as a candidate for matrimony," and it was signed at the bottom, "NED BOWERS." As I think myself fully able and competent to perform all the duties of a house-keeper, I would just say that I am of the required age with which the subscriber wishes to join his destiny; therefore, should this meet his eye, and also his approbation, let him communicate through the *Champion*, or personally, to me (as his address is not known). Now there are some things that I wish to be made known, so that a right understanding may be had on the subject, and that is this: Should I be so fortunate as to get a companion, he shall be sole proprietor and manager of all affairs with which the pantaloon community has to do under similar circumstances; that is, those which appertain to the family circle. Now, in regard to my personal beauty, I leave that for other people to say, which

has been acknowledged by a host of admirers, to be the very ideal of beauty and witticism: therefore, I feel myself qualified to fill the bill that is required. Now I would state a few facts in respect to a married life, although I cannot speak from personal experience in the matter; yet from ocular demonstrations, I can say that there are a great number of family circles that are everything else but concord and harmony to my knowledge of them, and the reason is, because a faithful portraiture of themselves was not given in the premises. As for me, I would say that I never will unite myself to a man that indulges in gambling, in any or all its forms, either directly or indirectly; nor to a man that indulges in intoxicating liquors, either directly or indirectly; for should I or any woman be joined to a man, that partakes of the "liquid poison," how soon would all the means of happiness be destroyed; though she rise at early dawn and pursue her daily avocation until the going down of the sun, and even until her midnight lamp goes out for want of replenishing, to earn what he so quickly spends; not as she had hoped, for the comforts of life, but the contrary—its worst miseries. From such a one let me be forever separated; there are enough of trials and difficulties to contend with in this troublesome world, which are unavoidable by nature.

Should the editor of the *Champion* think this worthy a place in his paper, he can use it any way he sees proper. As I am unacquainted with the manners and customs of corresponding with the press, I wish to be excused if I appear in an awkward position before the public. LOVINA LITTLETON.

Hurrah, Ned! There's a capital chance for you, now. If you are not already in "heels over head" with some of your fair correspondents of late, we'd advise you to devote a little attention to LOVINA. Her letter certainly exhibits indications of good sense on the part of its fair author, and there can be no doubt but what she is worth looking after. Oh! "pitch in," Ned!—[*Ed. Champion.*]

Freemen's Champion, April 8, 1858.

Marriageable young women are in great demand in Kansas. A Yankee writing from this section to his father, says: "Suppose you get our girls some new teeth and send them out."

From the *Kirwin Chief*, January 29, 1876.

The girls in the East should all come to Kansas. We hear of one recently arrived who received a proposal of marriage before she had been here a week. The chap who wanted to marry her, had been introduced about two hours previously.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR WALKER IN THE NEWS

From the *Emporia News*, July 20, 1861.

The New York correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* writes as follows concerning one of the Ex-Governors of Kansas:

There was an unusual hubbub about the Astor house today. Several members of congress from New England and New York are on their way to Washington; and the "Sons of Maine" dined and wined the officers of the fifth regiment, which passed through today. One of the fussiest and noisiest individuals hereabouts is Ex-Governor R. J. Walker, of Mississippi and Kansas

and the Pacific R. R. Co. He lives at Hoboken, and nearly every day comes over here to abuse and denounce secession and traitors. When he gets about three sheets in the wind, he launches out promiscuously, and does the most miscellaneous swearing you ever heard. He mixes up his oaths, his devils, his damns, his traitors, and so on, all in confusion, without regard to mood or tense. If Jeff. Davis ever gets permanently settled in the place to which Walker has consigned him with prayer, at least forty times within ten days, he will have less confidence in fast days hereafter than he has now.

A DESCRIPTION OF JAMES BUTLER (WILD BILL) HICKOK

From the *Manhattan Independent*, October 26, 1867.

On Monday we took the cars of the U. P. R. W. E. D. for Leavenworth. We make no mention of this because there is any peculiar significance in our visiting the metropolis of Kansas. Like almost everybody in Kansas we do so occasionally. But upon this occasion it was our fortune to fall in with quite a number of persons of whom it might interest our readers to learn something.

WILD BILL

the celebrated scout, with Jack Harvey and some dozen of their companions were upon the train, having just come in from a scouting expedition under General Sherman. All the party were more or less affected by frequent potations from their bottles, and Wild Bill himself was tipsy enough to be quite belligerent.

He is naturally a fine looking fellow, not much over 30 years of age, over six feet in height, muscular and athletic, possessing a fine figure, as lithe and agile as the Borneo Boys. His complexion is very clear, cheek bones high, and his fine auburn hair which he parts in the middle hangs in ringlets down upon his shoulders, giving him a girlish look in spite of his great stature. He wore a richly embroidered sash with a pair of ivory hilted and silver mounted pistols stuck in it. Doubtless this man and his companions have killed more men than any other persons who took part in the late war. What a pity that young men so brave and daring should lack the discretion to sheath their daggers forever when the war terminated! But such is the demoralizing effect of war upon those who engage in it and certainly upon all who love the vocation.

We learn from a gentleman who has frequently met these wild and reckless young men, that they live in a constant state of excitement, one continual round of gambling, drinking and swearing, interspersed at brief intervals with pistol practice upon each other.

At a word any of the gang draws his pistol and blazes away as freely as if all mankind were Arkansas Rebels, and had a bounty offered for their scalps.

How long these athletes will be able to stand such a mode of life; eating, drinking, sleeping (if they can be said to sleep) and playing cards with their pistols at half cock, remains to be seen. For ourself, we are willing to risk them in an Indian campaign for which their cruelty and utter recklessness of life particularly fit them.

HAYS CITY BY MOONLIGHT

From the *Manhattan Standard*, May 8, 1869.

EDITOR STANDARD:—Hays City is progressing. It is quite "go aheadish." In fact, it is decidedly so. The railroad passes through the town. Most of the business is done on the north side of the railroad. Almost every other building is a liquor saloon or a house of ill fame. Hotels and eating houses are also numerous.

The Seventh cavalry has just been paid off, and the whole regiment is on a regular spree.

We made a visit to said town last night, by "moonlight." Almost the first house, as we enter the town from the south, on the right, is the large wholesale liquor and clothing house of Ryan & Co. They appropriate to themselves almost all the wholesale business of the town.

On the left, near by, is the Santa Fé saloon, all ablaze with light, and soldiers staggering around in front are a good indication of what is going on within.

A little further up we cross the railroad. Over the street from the depot is a large gambling "hell." Here billiard and faro tables, chuck luck and monte banks, "horsehead," etc., are in full blast.

As we sauntered slowly up the street we noticed on a dilapidated looking building a large sign informing all beholders that "General Outfitting" could be obtained by enquiring within. Seeing no show window, and no display of goods, and being of an inquiring turn of mind, we entered. Instead of seeing a smiling, polite salesman, anxious to show us his goods, as we expected, we were welcomed by two or three very pretty smiling young ladies. We saw no goods, except feminine. Seeing that we had got into the "wrong pew," and being rather bashful, in spite of the fascinating appearance of the aforesaid young ladies, we disappeared.

A little northwest of this is the notorious "shebang," kept by a Frenchman, name unknown, where was a dance under full headway. Here we noticed, among other "distinguished guests," the smiling, contented phiz. of our friends, Col. ———, Col. ———, Major ———, Major ———, and several other officers of the Nineteenth and Seventh, taking a prominent part in the first set. Round and round they go, "tripping the light fantastic toe," until out of breath and very thirsty, they adjourn with their fair but frail partners to the bar for "refreshments." Officers, soldiers, citizens, blacklegs, gamblers, pimps, *nymphs du pace*, and all mingle here on a common platform. What is going on in this place is but a repetition of what is going on in a dozen different houses in town.

As we return homeward we see various forms lying in the road, in the gutters, and puddles. Staggering forms are seen, supporting still more staggering specimens of humanity toward camp. Fights are frequent—some little shooting, some cutting, and frequent "fist mauling." Robberies are frequent. Men dead drunk are in no condition to defend themselves, and the temptation is too strong for a "dead beat," or a "strapped" blackleg to resist making a "raise."

All along the road to both camps, stragglers may be seen wending their way campwards. Some drunk, supported along by comrades scarcely less intoxicated; some with bruised and blackened faces stagger along, venting their

wrath against the world in general and some fancied antagonist in particular.

Such, Mr. Editor, is a brief, but truthful sketch of "Hays City by moonlight."

April 11, 1869.

Q.

DOINGS ON KANSAS AVENUE, TOPEKA, IN 1869

From the *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, Topeka, June 29, 1869.

Late the other evening, we saw one of our druggists wading the mud in Kansas avenue, attempting to overhaul one of the juvenile bovine. Said animal had a rope attached to its neck, and as the Dr. would make a grab for the rope, the calf would make himself scarce—he wasn't thar. The last we saw of them they were in front of Sexton's, the calf about ten feet in advance and bleating for its lost protector, and the Dr. crying aloud, "stop yer bawlin', I'm a comin'."

TOPEKA'S "FORT SIMPLE"

From the *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, July 3, 1869.

REMINISCENCES.—We are asked by many as to the meaning of the term "Ft. Simple." We will explain. In 1864 when "Pap" Price was on the border, it was thought not improbable but that he would overrun the state. There is but little doubt that he would have done so had it not been for the Kansas militia, who were ordered out *en masse* and met him at the Big Blue. Price's army there met a check, but at the sacrifice of many of our people, and among them twenty-two citizens of Shawnee county. During the time that Price was on the border, it was considered proper to take some measures to protect the city should any stragglers from Price's command come this way. For that purpose, logs about sixteen feet in length were set in the ground four feet deep at the corner of Kansas and Sixth avenues. They were set in the form of a circle, enclosing a space of about fifty feet in diameter. Holes were cut in the logs in different places, so that those inside could shoot out, should the ragamuffins come in on either of the streets. A cannon was also inside, and an opening left so it could be used if necessary. Happily there was no necessity for using the fortification, so it remained a mooted question whether it would have done any good or not if there had been any necessity for it. After about a year the logs were sawed off, leaving them about seven feet high, and some trees set out inside. About this time some one gave it the nickname of "Ft. Simple," which stuck to it till it was entirely removed. The trees inside did not thrive, and after a year or two the city authorities ordered the logs removed. At the same time the stockade was made, all of the citizens who were not at the front were detailed a certain number of hours each day to throw up rifle pits or trenches in which sharpshooters could lay and fire at an approaching enemy without being exposed. One of these trenches was east of Monroe street, between Eighth and Ninth, and the outlines of it can yet be traced; another was east of Washburn College [now site of Memorial building]. New comers here can hardly realize in these peaceful times that for months our citizens took turns and did picket duty on all the

roads leading into the city. The Quantrill and other raids into other portions of our state made it a part of wisdom to do so. Many amusing things transpired during these months. Several times it was reported that the guerrillas were coming, and we recollect one night in particular when many buried their treasures and some laid out in the ravines around town all night. Did space permit we could fill a page of the *Record* in telling of these things. At another time we may do so.

INDIAN DRESS

From the *Netawaka Chief*, July 2, 1872.

We noticed a squaw in town the other day dressed in a new style of Dolly Vardens. Her attire was composed of a red calico dress, with a few clean spots and a good many greasy ones; an old black hat, ornamented with red, blue and yellow ribbons; a striped shawl thrown over her shoulders; a large red blanket fastened around her waist, and a pair of No. 15 Brogans on her understandings. She was dressed in her summer clothes.

A TYPE SHORTAGE

From the *Manhattan Enterprise*, August 9, 1876.

O, wouldn't we like to catch him. We mean the thief that stole all our capital K's. There must be a Ku Klux Klan organization about, and they want to "print" their signatures.

BULL-DOZING IN THE LEGISLATURE

From the *Inland Tribune*, Great Bend, February 3, 1877.

They have a man in the legislature at Topeka named Bull. The other day he fell asleep during the roll call on the senatorial question, and as his snoring troubled the speaker, he called on the sergeant-at-arms to stop that Bull-dozing.

DOWN TO A HAIR!

From the *Kirwin Chief*, January 1, 1879.

WHO IS SHE?—The last butter we purchased in this city was made by a black-haired woman. Describing the character, height, &c., by the color and quality of the hair is our fort, and after a careful examination we give our opinion as follows: She is about 5½ feet high—weighs about 160 lbs., and she had the blues at the time the butter was made (this we learn from the streaks in the butter), is a mother—has a great deal to do (this we learn from the hair being very crooked and not having been combed for a week). In temper she is rather mild, and is dearly loved by her husband and children. We will wager six bits and a brick watch that the above is correct—now trot in your woman.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

"The Mallet Expedition of 1739 Through Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado to Santa Fé," by Henri Folmer, was published in *The Colorado Magazine* (v. XVI, No. 5), of Denver, in September, 1939. This expedition, the author surmises, was the first successfully undertaken by white men across the unknown country between New Mexico and the Missouri region. Although the detailed itinerary is lost, the route probably led up the Missouri river to the land of the Arikara Indians in present South Dakota, southwestward overland through the central part of Kansas, west along the north bank of the Arkansas river, southwest to Santa Fé, east along the Canadian and Arkansas rivers to the Mississippi, and down the Mississippi to New Orleans.

Of interest to historically-minded Kansans are the following articles by Victor Murdock appearing in his front-page column in recent issues of the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle*: "One Trail Across Kansas, Leavenworth to Wichita, Has Been Long Traveled," October 6, 1939; "Hosts of Kansans to Find Coronado Show Next Year Top New Mexican Effort," October 7; "Holster From Frontier in the Indian Territory an Heirloom in Wichita," October 16; "Memories of Carl Meeker of a Picturesque Spot on Banks of the Ninnescah," October 24; "Farm Produce Sales Here Which Helped to Anchor the Pioneer Population," October 27; "West Douglas Ave. Lots Near Banks of Big River Have Had a Real History," November 22; "Newly Discovered Diary of a Pioneer, C. C. Fees, Revives Settler's Vision," November 23.

Among the historical articles featured in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star* during October and November, 1939, were: "General [Leonard] Wood's Battle For Lives Continues on the Medical Front," October 9; "William Allen White Remembers a Man [Herbert S. Hadley] Who Did Everything Well," October 11; reviews of books by two Kansas writers, Kirke Mechem and Bliss Isely, and by a onetime Kansas cowpuncher, Paul I. Wellman, now a feature writer on the *Star's* staff, October 14; "Two New 'Dorothys' From Kansas [the William Allen Whites] Explore the Modern Land of Oz," November 10 [this article written by Mr. White, entitled "'Dorothy' Comes Home," appeared originally in the *Emporia Gazette* of November 6]; "Thanksgiving Day in Kansas Has Had a History of Roving," by Cecil Howes, November 18.

Kansas history items appearing in recent issues of the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* include: "John Brown and His Strange Army Raided Harpers Ferry 80 Years Ago," by Paul I. Wellman, October 16, 1939; "A Rich Store of Kansas Records Collected [by the Kansas State Historical Society] Over Sixty-four Years," by Cecil Howes, October 17; "Paintings of John Noble [first Kansas artist to gain an international reputation] Stir Memories of a Romantic Quest," by J. D. W., October 18; "Dr. Cady Passes 40 Years at K. U., Continues Work on Something New," by T. M. O., October 26; "October in Kansas, the Season When All True Natives Are Poets," by Cecil Howes, October 27; "[John W. Haussermann, the 'Boy City Attorney' of Leavenworth and the] Gold Mine King in Philippines Arrived with Funston's Kansans," by Lowell Thomas, November 6; "Nearly Half the Kansas Counties Named in Honor of War Heroes," by Cecil Howes, November 8; "Mennonites Were Lured to Kansas by a Shrewd Immigration Agent," by Cecil Howes, November 24; "Middle West Owes Special Debt to [Dr. James A. Naismith] the Inventor of Basketball," by T. M. O., November 30.

Mrs. Christie Campbell-Loomis, the first white child born in Salina, recalled some events of her girlhood during the log-cabin days of that region, in the *Salina Journal*, October 25, 1939. Mrs. Loomis is a niece of Col. William A. Phillips, a prominent Kansas pioneer.

In a special edition of the Independence *Daily Reporter* of October 28, 1939, city and county attractions were featured. Among the articles was one entitled, "Early History of Montgomery County and Independence."

A thirty-six page booklet was published in November, 1939, in observance of the seventieth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Abilene. The pamphlet was compiled by C. C. Wyandt, a member of the church for fifty-one years, from minutes of the church session and reminiscences of older members.

The history of Simpson, written by members of the sophomore class of the high school in 1919, was reprinted in the *Simpson News*, November 2, 1939, from its issue of February 6, 1919.

Ashland's *Clark County Clipper* on November 2, 1939, published reminiscences of C. W. Evans, a pioneer settler and former resident of the county, and an article on early postoffices in Clark county by John R. Walden of Winfield, which supplemented a review on the same subject in the *Clipper* of September 28.

Mrs. Maggie Goss, of Dwight, read a paper on the history of the community prepared by herself and Mrs. Roman Goss, as part of the program of the Morris County Pioneer Kansan Club at its meeting at Parkerville on October 21, 1939. Her paper was printed in the *White City Register*, November 2.

A brief statement of the history of Wetmore, taken from a Methodist church record book, was featured in the *Wetmore Spectator*, November 3, 1939.

The following historical articles were published recently in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*: "John Brown's Hanging Recalled by Ex-Wichitan," and "Wichita Postal Veteran [C. H. Bracken] Quits After 43 Years," November 5, 1939; "St. Francis [Hospital] Has 50 Year Record of Wichita Service," by Father William Schaefer, "13 Catholic Hospitals Serve Wichita Territory," and "St. Francis Nursing School Serves Hospital Need," November 19.

Mankato's city library, which has been housed in the community building since September, 1939, formally opened its new rooms with a program and open house on November 15. *The Western Advocate* on November 16 reviewed the history of the library from its organization in 1901.

In its issue of November 23, 1939, the *Kansas Chief*, of Troy, printed a letter written by Cyrus Leland, Sr., in 1866. Because of the important role played by Colonel Leland in early Doniphan county history, the autobiographical material in the letter relating to his attendance at Harvard University and his military service is of particular interest. A tintype of the colonel, made shortly before the Civil war, was reproduced. Letter and portrait came from Bartlett Boder, of St. Joseph, Mo., a great grandson of Colonel Leland.

A story of the first settlers of Twelve Mile, a community northwest of Downs, has been prepared by Alfred E. Gledhill, son of a pioneer family. His father, Joseph Gledhill, was one of a party of sixty-five which emigrated in 1872 from Connecticut, and the narrative, according to the *Downs News* of December 7, 1939, gives a full account of the Gledhill family.

In preparation for the dedication of the new Republic county courthouse in Belleville on December 18, 1939, the *Belleville Tele-*

scope on December 7 issued a special twenty-four page "Court House Dedication Edition." Articles of historical interest included a list of Republic county officials since 1868, stories of the organization of the county and the first county election in 1868, the creation of the twelfth judicial district and the meeting of the first district court in 1871, and a sketch history of county buildings constructed from 1872 to the present.

The Kinsley *Graphic* on December 14, 1939, announced the publication of a book by Col. William Payton, of Garfield, entitled *The Last Man Over the Trail*. It is divided into two sections, one dealing with the old Santa Fé trail and the famous men who traveled it, and the other telling the story of William Drannan, a boy who was reared by Kit Carson, the Indian scout. Among the incidents related in the book is the uprising of the Sioux Indians under Sitting Bull in 1890, which occurred in South Dakota shortly after Payton and his father had purchased a ranch there. In the same issue the *Graphic* featured other articles of historical importance: "Some Early-Day Reminiscences" written by Mrs. Alice Loring Humphrey Erwin and first published in the *Graphic* on May 19, 1905, and "Shelter Belts Will Save Edwards County Soil" which reviewed in words and pictures what is being done in the county to conserve the soil.

A reunion of some of the old pupils of Ritchey school district, three miles west of Cheney in Kingman county, was held recently, according to the Cheney *Sentinel*, December 21, 1939. The *Sentinel* featured a brief history of the school from its organization in 1879 to 1910, compiled by two of the early-day pupils, E. J. Goldsborough and Mrs. Ora Rollins.

In celebration of the completion of a new post-office building at Council Grove, the *Republican* on December 29, 1939, published a "Post Office Cornerstone and Dedication Edition." Historical articles dealing with early postmasters and the early postal service in the city were printed. A partial directory of the local civic, service and study clubs, a directory of Council Grove professional men, and photographs and biographical sketches of early settlers were also included.

Kansas Historical Notes

The Thirty-Fifth Division Association of World War veterans held its twentieth annual reunion in Kansas City, October 19, 20 and 21, 1939. The following officers were elected: Sen. Harry S. Truman of Missouri, president; Mahlon S. Weed, Kansas City, first vice-president; Col. Edmund J. McMahon, St. Louis, Mo., second vice-president; Capt. John A. Ashworth, Topeka, third vice-president; Col. Albert Linxwiler, Jefferson City, Mo., fourth vice-president; Col. Fred W. Manchester, Joplin, Mo., secretary; Capt. Wilford Riegle, Emporia, historian; Harold Powell, Great Bend, sergeant at arms; and Maj. L. Curtis Tiernan, Fort Leavenworth, chaplain.

Plans are under way in Seward county to organize a county historical society. H. D. Massoni, of Kismet, has been assembling a list of persons who have lived in the county thirty years or longer, and is sending out questionnaires for historical information which will be used as a basis for organizing the society.

The Lyon County Historical Society held its annual dinner and program meeting at Emporia on October 30, 1939. Almost three hundred persons attended, including fifty members of high-school societies that have been organized in the ten high schools of the county and affiliated with the county society. The program featured the history of Hartford, and the Rev. E. T. Rice of Oswego, son of the Rev. C. R. Rice, a missionary to the Indians in the 1850's, was guest speaker. The regular annual meeting of the society will be held in January.

Members of the Dickinson County Historical Society met in Abilene November 2, 1939, for their annual meeting. Mrs. Carl Peterson, of Enterprise, was elected president; Mrs. W. C. Bocker, of Solomon, second vice-president; and Walter Wilkins, of Chapman, treasurer. The terms of office of Mrs. A. B. Seelye, first vice-president, and Mrs. H. M. Howard, secretary, hold over until next year.

First step in the organization of a Cherokee County Historical Society was taken on November 6, 1939, when a meeting was held at Columbus and the following temporary officers elected: Mrs. Leah Baird, Columbus, chairman; Miss Bess Oliphant, Columbus, secretary, and Mrs. Grace Burr, Galena, treasurer. A committee consisting of Miss Oliphant, Mrs. Cora Taylor and Mrs. Henry Mitchell was appointed to draft a constitution and bylaws.

The seventh annual meeting of the Douglas County Historical Society was held in Lawrence on November 16, 1939. W. C. Simons,

the retiring president, presided. Reports of the activities of the society during the preceding year were presented, and the following officers were elected to serve during 1940: Robert C. Rankin, president; Miss Irma Spangler, first vice-president; John Akers, second vice-president; Miss Ida G. Lyons, secretary, and Walter Varnum, treasurer. Dr. Edward Bumgardner, W. C. Simons, Allen Crafton, C. E. Beeks and W. H. Morgan were elected to serve three-year terms as directors.

Unveiling of the \$50,000 Lillie Gordon Munn Memorial, a forty-five foot stone frieze with two central bronze figures dedicated to the native sons and daughters of Kansas, occurred at Gage Park in Topeka on December 5, 1939. The ceremonies included short addresses by Dr. Charles M. Sheldon; Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society; Robert Stone, Mrs. Charles Spencer, and Chester Woodward, of the board of trustees of the memorial; Fred M. Torrey of Chicago, the designer and sculptor; Mayor John Scott of Topeka and Glen Archer, representing Gov. Payne Ratner, who accepted the memorial on behalf of the city and state. The day was also the eighty-fifth birthday of Topeka, and the Shawnee county early settlers met for their annual meeting. Helen McFarland, librarian of the Kansas State Historical Society, was the principal speaker. She discussed Shawnee county historic sites. John McKnown, who came to Topeka in July, 1855, for the third consecutive year received the distinction of being the city's oldest settler. New officers elected for the coming year were H. B. Heberling, president, and M. T. Kelsey, vice-president. Florence Eckert, secretary-treasurer, was reelected.

Florence Finch Kelly of New York, who retired in June, 1936, after fifty-six years as a newspaperwoman, died at New Hartford, Conn., on December 17, 1939. Mrs. Kelly came to Kansas from Illinois in 1869, attended the University of Kansas, from which she was graduated in 1881, and began her newspaper work in the summer of 1880 on the staff of the Topeka *Commonwealth*. Subsequently she worked for papers in Oakland, Cal., Chicago, Boston, Troy, New York, and other cities. She was also a novelist, poet and critic. Shortly before her death she published her autobiography, *Flowing Stream* (New York, Dutton, 1939).

In December, 1939, the Kansas division of the Historical Records Survey published in mimeographed form a preliminary "Check List of Kansas Imprints, 1854-1876," comprising 1,594 separate titles of books, pamphlets, folders, broadsides and broadsheets. This volume

is the first exhaustive bibliography of Kansas printing ever to be assembled. The project was inaugurated in the state by the Works Progress Administration on February 1, 1938, and work on the list employed an average of twenty field workers in Kansas, inventorying the holdings of thirty-three Kansas libraries. The project is nation-wide in scope, materials for this volume being drawn from 187 libraries and five private collections in thirty-seven states.

Of the total number of titles in the check-list 1,114 bear definite Kansas imprints, according to the introduction, while 480 lack imprints but are in all probability products of the Kansas press. In addition the list includes twenty items whose origin is unknown but whose content would suggest inclusion in a Kansas list, and sixteen items which bear names of Kansas publishers but are known to have been printed in other states. More than half the titles, 853, were the output of presses in Topeka, Lawrence and Leavenworth. The latter two led in the early period, with totals of 224 and 227, respectively, but after 1865 Topeka took the lead and is represented by 402 items. The only other important printing center before 1877 was Atchison, with forty-nine titles.

From the bibliographer's standpoint Kansas occupies an unusual position among the states, Douglas C. McMurtrie, the national editor, comments: "Anyone examining this list will be struck by the noteworthy holdings of Kansas material in Kansas libraries, a situation which should be, but is not always, found in other states. Almost before the events that gave birth to the state had become history, their witnesses realized the value to posterity of collecting and preserving contemporary accounts, and the Kansas Historical Society was organized in 1875. The result is that of the 1,594 books, pamphlets, and broadsides recorded in this first and admittedly incomplete listing of the products of the Kansas press, all but 200, or 1,394, are in the possession of that institution, over half, 731, of which are apparently unique copies. This does not include the 423 legislative bills forming the last portion of this list, all of which are known only from the copies in that collection. . . ." Other large holdings were found in the libraries of the College of Emporia, the Kansas State College, the University of Kansas, and Baker University. Of the total number of imprints, 92.5 percent are in Kansas collections, only 120 items having been located in libraries outside the state. Eighty-three of these are unique copies, not duplicated elsewhere.

The Historical Records Survey and the American Imprints Inventory, now sponsored by the Kansas State Historical Society, supplied the field workers for the project. Harold J. Henderson is state director.

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Biographical mention of SAMUEL JAMES READER will be found on p. 26 (February, 1940, *Kansas Historical Quarterly*).

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When Horace Greeley Visited Kansas in 1859

MARTHA B. CALDWELL

ON April 28, 1859, Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, announced "To the Friends of *The Tribune*":

I propose taking a trip Westward this season through Kansas and the alleged Gold Region at the Eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, thence through Utah and the Great Basin, to California, returning across the continent or by the Isthmus, as circumstances shall dictate. I purpose to leave this City on the 9th or 10th of May, and to reach it on my return between the 10th and the 25th of September. I shall try to look in on the first distinctively Republican Convention of the Freemen of Kansas, which meets at Osawatimie on the 18th of May, and to start westward from Leavenworth or Lawrence soon afterward. I shall also look at Oregon, if Time should serve.

I shall write as frequently as practicable for *The Tribune*, and shall try to add something to the popular knowledge of the now wild and lonely region over which the Iron Horse is soon to trace the pathway of Empire.¹

Greeley also wrote the following to T. D. Thacher, editor of the *Lawrence Republican*:

Will you please state in such manner as you think fit, that I propose to attend your Territorial Republican Convention at Osawatimie on the 18th prox. I have written and talked about Kansas some, until I want to see it. So I am going to start westward about the 10th or 11th prox., and hope to see some old friends whom I may more easily find at Osawatimie than by traveling over your broad prairies.²

For a number of years Horace Greeley had been advocating as a government necessity the building of a transcontinental railroad to connect the two widely separated settlements in the United States. He now resolved to make a journey across the continent and note the physical characteristics of the region with reference to the facilities it afforded for the construction of a road.³ This, no doubt, more than anything else prompted his trip.

It gave rise, however, to the accusation by those who opposed the organization of the Republican party, that Horace Greeley had been invited by straight-out Republicans, with a view of creating en-

1. *New York Daily Tribune*, May 2, 1859. During his journey Horace Greeley wrote thirty-four letters to the *Tribune*. These were later republished in book form under the title *An Overland Journey, From New York to San Francisco, in the Summer of 1859* (New York, C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co., 1860). The letters quoted here are from the book version; consequently they may occasionally vary from the newspaper printing.

2. *Lawrence Republican*, Lawrence, May 5, 1859.

3. Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, J. B. Ford and Company, 1868), p. 360.

thusiasm at the Osawatimie convention. The rumor spread that Horace Greeley, Frank P. Blair of Missouri and Gov. S. P. Chase of Ohio were expected to be present at the convention to give the Republicans some wholesome advice.⁴ The opponents thought that such meddling in local politics by outsiders was not to be tolerated. The Democrats especially made political capital of the story. The Leavenworth *Herald* wrote, "We find the so-called Republicans of Kansas sending all the way to New York for the great Agamemnon of Black Republicanism—Horace Greeley—to aid in the organization of their party in this Territory. He comes with a platform in his breeches pocket. . . ." ⁵

So much was made of these reports that Greeley authorized the editor of the Lawrence *Republican* to say in the columns of his paper that the story was without a shadow of foundation; that no one, either in or out of Kansas, solicited his presence at the convention; that the moment he determined to visit Kansas he wrote the articles which appeared in the *Tribune* and Lawrence *Republican*.⁶

On Monday, May 9, Greeley boarded the train at New York for his Western journey. He traveled the accustomed route: by train to Buffalo, thence to Chicago and Quincy, Ill. At Quincy he took the boat down the Mississippi as far as Hannibal, Mo., where he again took the train over the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad to St. Joseph. Here he took passage on the steamer *Platte Valley* for Atchison, arriving there Sunday morning, May 15.⁷

It is doubtful if at that time the arrival in Kansas of any other man would have created such a sensation. Greeley's paper, the New York *Tribune*, was widely read in Kansas. He had been a constant and devoted friend of Free Kansas, and his pen and voice had been effective in securing her freedom. It was fitting that this great champion of freedom should be given a hearty welcome. "Gentle and simple, Hunkers and Radicals, Conservatives and Progressives," wrote a correspondent to the *Tribune*, "all united in showing the deep respect entertained for him in Kansas."⁸

Atchison was the first Kansas town to greet the renowned visitor. Her prominent citizens, among them S. C. Pomeroy, gave him a

4. *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 21, 1859, quoting from the Leavenworth *Ledger* and the Osawatimie *Herald*.

5. Leavenworth *Herald*, quoted in *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, June 4, 1859.

6. Lawrence *Republican*, May 26, 1859.

7. New York *Daily Tribune*, May 25, 1859.

8. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1859.

cordial reception. He was entertained at the old Massasoit house, a substantial frame hotel, said at the time to be one of the finest public houses in Kansas outside of Leavenworth and Lawrence. In the afternoon he enjoyed a ride around the city, and that night he wrote his first "Overland Journey" letter to the *Tribune*.

The letter consisted principally of his impressions of his journey to Kansas. Of Atchison he wrote:

Atchison gives me my first foothold on Kansas. It was long a Border-Ruffian nest, but has shared the fortunes of many such in being mainly bought out by Free-State men, who now rule, and for the most part own it. For the last year, its growth has been quite rapid; of its four or five hundred dwellings, I think, two-thirds have been built within that period. The Missouri at this point runs further to the west than elsewhere in Kansas; its citizens tell me that the great roads westward to Utah, &c., from St. Joseph on the north and from Leavenworth on the south, pass within a few miles of Atchison when thrice as far from their respective starting-points. Hence the Salt Lake mail, though made up at St. Joseph, is brought hither by steamboat and starts overland from this place; hence many trains are made up here for Laramie, Green River, Fort Hall, Utah, and I hear even for Santa Fé. I have seen several twelve-ox teams, drawing heavily-loaded wagons, start for Salt Lake, etc., to-day; there are others camped just outside the corporate limits, which have just come in; while a large number of wagons form a *corral* (yard, inclosure or encampment) some two miles westward. A little further away, the tents and wagons of parties of gold-seekers, with faces set for Pike's Peak, dot the prairie; one of them in charge of a grey-head who is surely old enough to know better. Teamsters from Salt Lake and teamsters about to start, lounge on every corner; I went out three or four miles on the high prairie this afternoon, and the furthest thing I could see was the white canvas of a moving train. I have long been looking for the West, and here it is at last.—But I must break off somewhere to prepare for an early start for Leavenworth and Lawrence to-morrow, in order to reach Osawatomie next day in season to attend the Republican Convention which is to assemble at that place on Wednesday, the eighteenth.⁹

With regard to the weather Greeley's visit to Kansas was untimely. It was an unusually rainy period. Rain had fallen off and on from Thursday, May 12, until Saturday night, May 14. Sunday was cloudy and chilly but without rain until evening, when thunder showers came up from all sides and it continued pouring throughout the night. "Kansas brags on its thunder and lightning," wrote Greeley of the storm, "and the boast is well founded. I never before observed a display of celestial pyrotechny so protracted, incessant and vivid as that of last Sunday night."¹⁰ The country already soaked with water was again drenched by the downpour.

9. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 18, 19. Printed in the *Daily Tribune*, May 25, 1859.

10. *An Overland Journey*, p. 20; *Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

Streams ordinarily insignificant were rendered dangerous or impassable for the time.

Under such conditions and with a sky still threatening, Greeley, S. C. Pomeroy, John A. Martin, possibly, and one other left Atchison at six o'clock Monday morning, May 16, in a two-horse wagon with the expectation of reaching Osawatimie the next evening. They knew that the streams were swollen but they trusted in the ability of their pilot, who had forded many Kansas streams, to get them there by some route or other. They traveled in a southerly direction across the prairies, fording numerous streams which were usually mere rills, but now swollen into torrents. Twelve or fifteen miles from Atchison they struck the California trail and followed it south and east into Leavenworth.

Greeley was greatly interested in the trains of emigrants on the California road, describing them as follows:

As we neared the California trail, the white coverings of the many emigrant and transport wagons dotted the landscape, giving the trail the appearance of a river running through great meadows, with many ships sailing on its bosom. Most of the independent wagoners were still encamped by the wayside, unable or unwilling to brave the deep mud; their cattle feeding on the broad prairie; the emigrants cooking or sitting beside the wagons; women sometimes washing, and all trying to dry their clothing, drenched and soaked by the pouring rain of the past night. One great wagon-train was still in *corral* with its cattle feeding and men lounging about; the others might better have been, as it was clearly impossible to make their lean, wild-looking oxen (mainly of the long-horned stripe, which indicates Texas as their native land, and which had probably first felt the yoke within the past week) draw them up the slightest ascent through that deep, slippery mire. A great deal of yelling, beating, swearing, was being expended to little purpose, as I presume each train corraled for the ensuing night within a mile of the point it left in the morning. These contractors' wagons are very large and strong, each carrying a couple of good extra axles lashed under its body, to be used in case an old one gives way under a heavy jerk; the drivers are as rough and wild-looking as their teams, though not quite so awkward at their business; but to keep six yoke of such oxen in line in the road, and all pulling on the load, is beyond human skill. It is a sore trial to patience, that first start of these trains on their long journey—to Utah, Fort Hall, Green River, and some of these to New Mexico, though this is not the Santa Fé trail. The loads are generally fifty hundred weight; the wagons must weigh at least fifteen hundred each; and, though this would seem moderate for twelve oxen, it must be remembered that they are at this season poor and at first unbroken, and that the road is in spots a very bad one. A train consists of ten to thirty wagons; each train has its reliable and experienced master or director; and when a team is stalled, another is unhitched from its own wagon and sent to the aid of the one in trouble. The rate of progress is necessarily snail-like; these trains will do very well if they make twenty miles the first week; considering the weather.

But then the feeding of the teams (like the lodging of the men) costs nothing, as they live on the broad prairie, and though they will often be fearfully hungry or dry in traversing grassless tracts on their route, they are said generally to gain in flesh (for which there is ample room) during a journey of three or four months. Of course, they improve in docility and effectiveness, being at first so wild that, in order to be yoked, they have to be driven into the *corral* (formed, as I may have explained, by wagons closely ranged in hollow square, the tongue of each being run under its next neighbor, for defense against Indians or other prowlers.) Very few wagons or cattle ever come back; the freighting is all one way; and both wagons and cattle are usually sold at or near their point of destination for whatever they will fetch—to be taken to California or disposed of as they best may.¹¹

At eleven a. m. the Greeley party reached Leavenworth. Greeley had been expected by boat, and a demonstration was planned, but he had quietly slipped in by carriage and was at the hotel before any one was aware of it. The Typographical Union together with other prominent citizens gave him a cordial welcome.¹² His arrival gave new courage to the Leavenworth county delegates who had about given up the idea of reaching Osawatomie, thinking that on account of the high water the convention would be postponed. Greeley's stay in Leavenworth was necessarily brief at this time, for the party was compelled to push on in order to be in Osawatomie in time for the convention. Their plan was to go by Lawrence, spend the night there and proceed to Osawatomie the next day. However, Stranger creek stopped any travel in that direction, for even the Leavenworth stages were unable to make their way out of town. They finally decided to go by boat to Wyandotte, and at three p. m. shipped their horses and wagons on board the steamer, *D. A. January*, and descended the Missouri river about fifty miles, "past the bleaching bones of several dead cities (not including Quindaro, which insists that it is alive) to Wyandot" where they spent the night.¹³

Although Greeley's arrival was unexpected a Republican meeting was hurriedly arranged for the evening and some "off hand" talks were made.¹⁴ The next morning, May 17, at six o'clock the party set out for Osawatomie, about fifty miles distant, hoping to get there before night. A heavy rain had fallen the day before and the Kansas river bottom was covered with water, so that the road across it was all but impassable. Fortunately a wooden toll bridge had just

11. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 23-25; *Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

12. D. W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas* (Topeka, 1886), p. 255.

13. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 25, 26; *Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

14. *Ibid.*

been built over the river and although it was not quite completed, it was usable.

After crossing the river they soon emerged upon the high prairie. The clouds of the morning had broken away and the day appeared perfect. "The young grass of the prairie," as Greeley described the view, "refreshed by the heavy rains, appeared in its freshest, tenderest green; the delicate early flowers were abundant, yet not so numerous as to pall by satiety the pleasure of looking at them, and the panorama presented was magnificent."¹⁵ Passing the prairie village of Shawnee,¹⁶ a town of twenty or thirty houses with a large hotel, their road went more directly south and brought them in sight of the Santa Fé trail with its "white-topped emigrant wagons, and three great contract trains."¹⁷ Crossing the trail at right angles, they left "the smart village of Olathe" a mile or so to the west, and struck off over the prairie almost due south. Greeley was much impressed with the beauty of this region and declared, "If the Garden of Eden exceeded this land in beauty or fertility, I pity Adam for having to leave it."¹⁸

At Spring Hill, which was characterized as "a hamlet of five or six dwellings, including a store, but no tavern," the party stopped to give their horses food and rest. Unable to secure horse feed in the town, they finally succeeded in purchasing a "homœopathic dose" for a quarter from a passing wagoner, and after lunching on crackers and herring they again set out. Their direct route led due south through Paola, but being assured by persons they met that Bull creek was impassable on this road, they turned to the west through Marysville¹⁹ and crossed the creek at Rock Ford three miles beyond. Greeley confessed that this "wide, impetuous stream, so impenetrable to the eye, and so far above its average level, wore a vicious look" to him when they plunged into it.²⁰

Twelve miles more brought them to Stanton where the lateness of the hour and the impassable condition of the Marais des Cygnes forced them to stop for the night. Stanton was a little town of twenty or thirty houses, including two stores and a tavern. At the tavern they found five or six persons bound for Osawatimie, "one of whom had swam three streams since the morning." Later

15. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 26-28; *Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

16. Shawnee (formerly Gum Springs) is situated in the northern part of Johnson county. The first settlement was made in 1857.—A. T. Andreas, *History of Kansas* (1883), p. 636.

17. *An Overland Journey*, p. 28; *Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

18. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 28, 29; *Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

19. Marysville, an early town in Miami county, is now extinct.

20. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 29, 30; *Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

in the evening fifteen or twenty more arrived, among them the Lawrence and Douglas county delegation. After supper a meeting was held at the school house where Horace Greeley, S. C. Pomeroy, T. Dwight Thacher and others spoke to a well filled house.²¹ They then adjourned "to fill all the beds and floors of the tavern as full as they could hold."²² All were "snugly bestowed" except Greeley and Thacher of Lawrence who accepted the hospitality of William P. Dutton, a Republican farmer, at a half mile distance and were well entertained at his house.²³ During the night heavy rains again fell and still further swelled the streams, so that a number who had come part way were unable to reach Osawatomie the next day.

The next morning, May 18, the delegations took an early start and were soon at the Marais des Cygnes river, a mile from Stanton. The river at this place, ordinarily fordable, was now so swollen by the heavy rains as to be fifteen or twenty feet in depth, its sweeping current being filled with driftwood. The rope to the ferry at this place was buried in the water and the tree to which it was attached was standing in the middle of the stream. After a long wait a new rope was secured and the party was ferried across, finally reaching Osawatomie about nine o'clock. Greeley described Osawatomie as a village of at most one hundred and fifty houses, situated in the forks of the Marais des Cygnes and Pottawatomie, a somewhat smaller creek, which comes in from the southwest. He wrote:

The location is a pleasant and favorable but not a commanding one; the surrounding country is more considerably cultivated than any I had passed south of the Kaw. The two creeks supply abundant and good timber; an excellent steam sawmill has taken the place of that which the border-ruffians burned; a flouring mill, tannery, brewery and a large hotel, are being erected or completed. I presume there is a larger town somewhere in what is known as Southern Kansas, though I do not know which it is.²⁴

Quite a number of the delegates were already on the ground. Still the streams were so high in every direction that it seemed impossible that many could get through. Before long the delegations from Linn and Bourbon counties came in on foot, having left their horses on the other side of Pottawatomie creek. They crossed the stream in a skiff. The Leavenworth, Doniphan and Wyandotte county delegates arrived looking somewhat bedraggled. "Some of them had traveled all night—some had swam swollen streams" in

21. *Lawrence Republican*, May 26, 1859.

22. *An Overland Journey*, p. 30; *Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

23. *Lawrence Republican*, May 26, 1859.

24. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 31, 32; *Daily Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

their determination to reach the convention.²⁵ Col. O. E. Learnard came up from the Neosho with a party from Burlington and Emporia. When they reached Pottawatomie creek they found that fording was out of the question and in the absence of a ferry, they crossed on an improvised raft and proceeded in a "delapidated condition" to the town.²⁶ Before noon over fifty delegates had arrived and the convention was assured.

The caucusing and preliminary maneuvers of the political leaders preceding the convention were held in an upstairs front room in the Jilson house; the convention itself met in the Osage Valley house in an unfinished second story fitted up for the occasion. Many of the men composing the convention had been active participants in the Kansas struggle. Among those of prominence were S. C. Pomerooy, Thomas Ewing, Jr., W. A. Phillips, T. Dwight Thacher, John A. Martin, Mark Delahay, Web and Cart Wilder, James McDowell, C. K. Holliday, D. W. Houston, Charles Branscomb, O. E. Learnard and A. D. Richardson. James H. Lane for some reason was absent.²⁷

There were other Free-State leaders absent because they opposed forming the Republican party at this time, holding that they should continue as the Free-State organization until Kansas was admitted to the union. Prominent in this group was George W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, who failed to give Greeley a cordial welcome in the columns of his paper, and printed much adverse criticism of him.²⁸

There was also a lack of harmony within the convention itself. A great diversity of opinion prevailed, primarily upon the question of the negro in Kansas, and many doubted the possibility of reconciling the different views. There were, of course, radical Abolitionists who went so far as to advocate giving the ballot to the colored man. There were also conservatives, numerically the strongest, many of whom were called "black law men" because they favored the exclusion of the negro from the state. It was said to have been due to the necessity of harmonizing these opposing views that Greeley was not invited to address the convention. According to Col. O. E. Learnard a feeling prevailed that Greeley with his pronounced views and his lack of understanding of the situation, might serve to aggravate rather than to placate the differences.

25. Lawrence *Republican*, May 26, 1859.

26. The *Osawatomie Journal*, May 27, 1898.

27. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, November 30, 1880.

28. *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, May 21, 28, June 4, 1859.

Therefore the majority thought it best not to invite him to participate in the business of the convention.²⁹ Learnard, who was president of the convention, forty-six years later told how they "Sat Down on" Greeley. "He came out to Kansas," he asserted, "with a number of theories and intended to dictate to us. But right there was where Mr. Greeley miscalculated. We treated him with the courtesy due the great editor that he was, but we merely pushed him aside and held the convention in our own way."³⁰ How much influence Greeley exerted among the committees is not known. The charge was that he wrote the platform. This brought forth a vigorous denial from John A. Martin, editor of the *Atchison Champion*, who was a member of the platform committee. Martin described in detail the work of the committee and the origin of the different resolutions. He declared that Greeley had never seen the platform until a copy was handed to him in Lawrence.³¹

The temporary organization was completed with little friction, and the convention adjourned to listen to an address by Greeley. The meeting was in the open with an improvised platform for the speaker just outside the hotel door. Notwithstanding the impassable roads, nearly one thousand people had gathered in honor of the occasion. Greeley was amazed at the crowd and wondered where it came from. He was introduced by O. C. Brown and talked for an hour and a half to attentive listeners.³² His subject naturally was political parties. He reviewed the old parties, the steady growth of the slave power and then dwelt on the origin, history, principles, and objects of the Republican party.³³ At the close the audience is reported to have enthusiastically cheered him. "It was a labor of love so to speak," wrote Greeley of the occasion, "but rather a tax to write the speech out, even imperfectly, as I was obliged to do during the next two days in the intervals of riding and speaking, in order that all those people of Kansas who care to do so may consider my notions of 'Free-State Democracy' and 'Squatter Sovereignty.'"³⁴

The Lawrence *Republican* printed the speech in full, May 26, and posted up the proof-sheets with corrections in Greeley's own hand

29. The *Osawatimie Journal*, May 27, 1898.

30. The *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, September 14, 1905.

31. *Freedom's Champion*, Atchison, June 4, 1859.

32. The *Topeka Tribune*, May 26, 1859.

33. The speech was reported in full in the *New York Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1859.

34. *An Overland Journey*, p. 36; *Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859.

in the composing room as typographical trophies. They remained there until the office was burned in 1863 in the Quantrill raid.³⁵

The next morning, May 19, Greeley left by stage for Lawrence. The stage crossed the Marais des Cygnes, which was still out of its banks, at Bundy's ferry and traveled north and west to leave the mail at Ottawa Jones' ³⁶ and then struck due north to Prairie City. Finding numerous infant towns along the route, Greeley wrote that "it takes three log houses to make a city in Kansas, but they begin *calling* it a city so soon as they have staked out the lots."³⁷

Greeley arrived in Prairie City³⁸ in the evening and remained there for the night. At a Republican meeting that evening he spoke to a gathering of about four hundred people. He was amazed at the number and wondered "where on earth so many could have been scared up, within a reasonable ride of this point." Although Prairie City, Baldwin and Palmyra were neighboring towns, he was sure they couldn't have mustered half the number. All of which made him conclude that the country was really better settled than it appeared.³⁹

On Friday morning, May 20, Greeley continued his journey to Lawrence. As he traveled the fifteen miles from Prairie City, he especially noted the rich limestone soil, the walnut, oak and hickory timber along the streams and the magnificent view of the Wakarusa valley. South of Lawrence Greeley crossed the Wakarusa river at Blanton's bridge, "a good toll bridge," and here the Lawrence welcoming party met him.

Perhaps no city in Kansas gave the New York editor a warmer reception than did Lawrence. Its citizens remembered how he had befriended them during the border-war troubles; how he had portrayed the crimes and outrages against their town in the columns of his paper, stories which the Democratic newspapers had denounced as "Greeley's Kansas lies."

When it became known that Greeley was to visit the city, the people of Lawrence made extensive preparations to greet him. The wet morning did not dampen the ardor of the prominent citizens who formed a cavalcade and with a brass band playing marched out to meet their distinguished guest. Jonathan Oldham as marshal

35. *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, October 7, 1870, quoted from the Lawrence Journal.

36. John Tecumseh (Ottawa) Jones lived about four miles northeast of present Ottawa.—*Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas* (Chicago, The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1890), p. 132.

37. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 38, 39; *Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859.

38. Prairie City was a town in the southern part of Douglas county. It is now extinct.

39. *An Overland Journey*, p. 39; *Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859.

used for a baton a copy of the New York *Tribune*, and many of the horsemen wore *Tribunes* in their hats as badges. He was conducted into the city by way of Mount Oread, passing the old fort which served as a refuge from the Proslavery hordes in 1856. After marching through several of the streets the procession halted in front of the Eldridge house where a large crowd had assembled. Here a short ceremony took place in which S. O. Thacher as spokesman for the occasion welcomed Greeley to the city and to which Greeley responded briefly. At three p.m. he spoke to a large crowd from the steps of the Eldridge house.⁴⁰ That night he wrote his second "Overland Journey" letter to the *Tribune* in which he described his journey from Atchison to Osawatimie.⁴¹

Of Lawrence Greeley wrote:

I should say Lawrence has now five hundred dwellings and perhaps five thousand inhabitants; and these figures are more likely to be over than under the mark. She has a magnificent hotel (the Eldridge House)—the best, I hear, between the Missouri and the Sacramento—far better, I fear, than its patronage will justify—though it has nearly all that Lawrence can give. She is to have a great University, for which a part of the funds are already provided; but I trust it will be located some distance away, so as to give scope for a Model Farm, and for a perfect development of the education of the brain and the hands together. . . . I trust the establishment of the Lawrence University will not be unduly hurried, but that it will be, whenever it does open its doors to students, an institution worthy of its name.⁴²

While Greeley was in Lawrence the steamboat *Gus Linn* came down the Kansas river from Fort Riley. She had reached the fort in a little over a week from Kansas City, and after discharging her cargo, she loaded with corn on her way down. Her arrival was hailed with exultation. In the absence of passable roads Greeley considered it a matter of great consequence that the river could be navigated even if only during high water.⁴³

On Saturday morning, May 21, at ten o'clock, Greeley left Lawrence by stage for Leavenworth. Crossing the Kansas by ferry at Lawrence, the stage passed through the wide and well-timbered bottom on the north and then came out on a "beautiful and gently undulating" prairie checkered by belts of timber along the creeks. Several times, at creek crossings, the passengers were turned out to lighten the coach. At Turkey creek the coach was driven cautiously through the steep-banked ford while its occupants severally let

40. Lawrence *Republican*, May 26, 1859.

41. New York *Tribune*, June 1, 1859.

42. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 43, 44; *Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859.

43. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 45, 46; *Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859.

themselves down a perpendicular bank by clinging to a tree, and crossed a deep whirling place above the ford on a log, which to Greeley was the "vilest log" he ever attempted to walk, "twisty, sharp-backed, and in every way detestable." One of the passengers refused to risk his life and hired an Indian loafing near to bring his pony and let him ride across. At Big Stranger⁴⁴ they changed coaches with the passengers from Leavenworth who had been waiting their arrival, the baggage and passengers were taken across the stream in a skiff, and each coach returned the way it had come. At six o'clock the stage arrived in Leavenworth.⁴⁵

Greeley took time while at Leavenworth to write his third letter to the *Tribune*. He considered Leavenworth much the largest city in Kansas, judging that it contained one thousand houses and ten thousand inhabitants not including the fort. The fort was a city of itself, with extensive barracks, capacious store-houses, several companies of soldiers, many fine houses for officers, sutlers, etc., and a farm of twelve hundred acres. "It is a nice place, that Fort," he added, "with many excellent people about it; but I can't help asking what it costs, and who pays, and whether that little bill might not be somewhat docked without prejudice to the public interest. I believe it could."

But the great feature of Leavenworth according to Greeley was Russell, Majors & Waddell's transportation establishment between the fort and the city.

Such acres of wagons! such pyramids of extra axletrees! such herds of oxen! such regiments of drivers and other employees! No one who does not see can realize how vast a business this is, or how immense are its outlays as well as its income. I presume this great firm has at this hour two millions of dollars invested in stock, mainly oxen, mules and wagons. (They last year employed six thousand teamsters, and worked forty-five thousand oxen.) Of course, they are capital fellows—so are those at the fort—but I protest against the doctrine that either army officers or army contractors, or both together, may have power to fasten slavery on a newly organized territory (as has just been done in New-Mexico) under the guise of letting *the people* of such territories govern themselves.⁴⁶

While at Fort Leavenworth, Greeley witnessed the departure of a great mule train filled with one hundred and sixty soldiers' wives and babies, on their way to join their husbands in Utah, from whom they had been separated nearly two years.⁴⁷

44. Big Stranger creek flows almost due south through Leavenworth county and empties into the Kansas river.

45. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 46, 47; *Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859.

46. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 47, 48; *Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859.

47. *Ibid.*

Greeley left Leavenworth by stage on Tuesday, May 24, a day in advance of the Pike's Peak Express in order to have time to visit Topeka and Manhattan and sum up his impressions of Kansas for the *Tribune*. For three days there had been no rain; the streams had fallen and the roads which had been so muddy were now blowing dust. The prairie wind from the west was blowing a gale. Crossing the rich valleys of Salt creek and Stranger creek they came out on the rolling prairie with its sea of waving grass and timber visible along the water courses. They stopped for dinner at Osawkee, once the county seat of Jefferson county, but now as Greeley observed, probably four years old and in a state of dilapidation and decay; its business having left it, its great hotel had been mysteriously burned, and, he presumed, the insurance had been duly paid. The tavern where they dined was kept by a Pennsylvania Dutchman who recognized Greeley from having met him at the Whig national convention at Harrisburg twenty years before. From Osawkee they crossed Rock creek and Muddy creek, passed through the little village of Indianola,⁴⁸ and reached the ferry at Topeka a little after sunset. They were delayed in crossing the river by a contractor's train which had been all day crossing, and they did not get into Topeka until nearly dark. Greeley wrote with regret of the cruel treatment of the animals in these trains.

I noticed with sorrow that the oxen which draw these great supply-wagons are often treated cruelly, not merely in respect to the beating and whaling which every human brute delights in bestowing on every live thing over which he domineers, but with regard to food and drink. Here were cattle that had stood in the yoke all that hot, dry day with nothing to eat or drink; and, when they came down to the river mad with thirst, they were all but knocked down for trying to drink. I was assured that oxen are sometimes kept in the yoke, without food or drink, for two days, while making one of these river crossings. There can be no excuse for this. Those which have long to wait ought to be taken off and driven a mile or more if necessary to grass and fed there; at all events, they should be watered at least twice a day. How can a competent train-master—to say nothing of humanity—overlook the policy of this?⁴⁹

Greeley's stay in Topeka was exceedingly brief. That night he spoke to a gathering on the political topics of the day, and after greeting friends he learned that the stage for Fort Riley would start at three o'clock in the morning. This gave him little time for sleep. However, on rising the next morning he found that the high

48. Indianola was a Proslavery town in Shawnee county founded in 1854. It is now extinct.

49. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 50-52; *Daily Tribune*, June 7, 1859.

wind would not allow the coach to cross the river and it was almost six o'clock before it actually started. The Topeka *Tribune* editor wrote regretfully of the fact that he had had no time to show Greeley around the town or to introduce him to the ladies.⁵⁰

After enjoying three days of bright sunshine, clouds began to gather and by nine a. m. rain started to pour, continuing until eleven. The route lay for thirty miles through the Pottawatomie reserve, crossing Soldier,⁵¹ the Red Vermillion⁵² and Rock creeks,⁵³ and passing St. Mary's (Catholic) mission,⁵⁴ where Greeley observed quite an Indian village and large improvements. At the Red Vermillion they dined, the landlady being a half-breed, and the dinner the worst for which the editor of the *Tribune* ever paid half a dollar. Continuing on their journey, they passed the stakes and "ruinous cabin or so of one or two still-born cities" and reached the Big Blue. Soon Greeley's beaver hat, a speck of white above the tall prairie grass, could be seen by observers in Manhattan as he rode on top of the four-horse stage coach. A committee of three appointed to tender Greeley the hospitality of the town, met him at the pontoon bridge and escorted him to the Manhattan house where he was a guest. In the evening as usual he spoke to a large audience at the Methodist church while a regular tempest of thunder, lightning and rain prevailed outside.⁵⁵

In his "Overland" letter written from Manhattan, Greeley described that city as an embryo city of perhaps one hundred houses, of which several were unroofed and three or four utterly destroyed by a tornado on the night of the fifteenth. Several of the families deprived of their homes were lodged in the basement of the new hotel that had just been erected, a three-story building fifty-five feet by thirty-three feet, with limestone walls and black-walnut finishing.⁵⁶

The high water detained Greeley at Manhattan a day longer than he had expected. Wild Cat creek, five miles west, was impassable on Thursday, holding up an express wagon from Pike's

50. The Topeka *Tribune*, May 26, 1859.

51. Soldier creek, a tributary of the Kansas river, flows south through Jackson county, emptying into the Kansas at Topeka.

52. The Red Vermillion flows south through Pottawatomie county and empties into the Kansas.

53. Rock creek is a tributary of the Red Vermillion in Pottawatomie county.

54. St. Mary's mission was in the southeast corner of present Pottawatomie county. It was established in 1848.

55. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 54-59; *Daily Tribune*, June 7, 1859; *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 18, 1928.

56. *Ibid.*

Peak, while Rock creek seventeen miles east stopped five mail coaches and express wagons Thursday and Thursday night. Friday morning the streams had fallen so they could be forded and at one p.m. Greeley took his seat in the Pike's Peak express and started westward. The only other passenger in the coach was A. D. Richardson, correspondent for the *Boston Journal*. Richardson, who had arrived in Manhattan on another coach, wrote of Greeley:

. . . at Manhattan Horace Greeley after a tour through the interior to gratify the clamorous settlers with speeches, joined me for the rest of the journey. His overland trip attracted much attention. A farmer asked me if Horace Greeley had failed in business, and was going to Pike's Peak to dig gold! Another inquired if he was about to start a newspaper in Manhattan.⁵⁷

The Leavenworth & Pike's Peak express had been established in the spring of 1859 by the firm of Jones, Russell & Co. Over fifty Concord coaches were purchased for the line. Each of these coaches was drawn by four fine Kentucky mules which were changed at stations established from twenty to thirty miles apart, according to the availability of wood and water. The route ran westward on the divide between the Republican and the Solomon rivers.

A few miles out of Manhattan Greeley's coach came to Ogden, a land-office city with thirty or forty houses. A short distance beyond the "sad remains of Pawnee City"⁵⁸ on the Fort Riley reservation was passed and the party soon arrived at the fort. Greeley described it as having comfortable barracks, a large and well placed hospital, spacious and elegant officers' quarters, and extensive and admirable stables. "I hear," he wrote, "that two millions of Uncle Sam's money have been expended in making these snug arrangements, and that the oats largely consumed here have often cost three dollars per bushel. I have seen nothing else at all comparable to this in the way of preparations for passing life agreeably since I left Missouri."⁵⁹ Crossing the Republican river on a rope ferry they drove into Junction City where they spent the night. Here Greeley again talked Republicanism for over an hour to a crowd gathered in an unfinished stone church.⁶⁰ Junction City was a village at the time, consisting of a store, two hotels, and thirty or forty dwellings. It also had a newspaper, founded and kept alive

57. Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford, American Publishing Co., 1867), p. 161.

58. The first territorial legislature of Kansas met at the new capitol building at Pawnee City in July, 1855.

59. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 71, 72; *Daily Tribune*, June 11, 1859.

60. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

by an army sutler, and of course, as Greeley expressed it, "Democratic in its inculcations."⁶¹

While at Manhattan Greeley summed up his impressions of Kansas. He stated that he liked Kansas better than he had expected to. The soil was richer and deeper, the timber more diffused and the country more rolling than he had supposed. He considered that, not confining his remarks to the then "flooded" time, Kansas was well watered, and the limestone underlying the soil was among the chief blessings. After discussing the crops indigenous to Kansas and speaking of the drawbacks in having little timber for building purposes, he wrote:

An unpleasant truth must be stated: There are too many idle, shiftless people in Kansas. I speak not here of lawyers, gentlemen speculators, and other non-producers, who are in excess here as elsewhere; I allude directly to those who call themselves settlers, and who would be farmers if they were anything. To see a man squatted on a quarter-section in a cabin which would make a fair hog-pen, but is unfit for a human habitation, and there living from hand to mouth by a little of this and a little of that, with hardly an acre of prairie broken (sometimes without a fence up), with no garden, no fruit-trees, "no nothing"—waiting for some one to come along and buy out his "claim" and let him move on to repeat the operation somewhere else—this is enough to give a cheerful man the horrors. Ask the squatter what he means, and he can give you a hundred good excuses for his miserable condition: he has no breaking-team; he has little or no good rail-timber; he has had the "shakes"; his family have been sick; he lost two years and some stock by the border-ruffians, etc., etc. . . .

And it is sad to note that hardly half the settlers make any sort of provision for wintering their cattle, even by cutting a stack of prairie-hay, when every good day's work will put up a ton of it. If he has a corn-field, the squatter's cattle are welcome to pick at that all winter; if he has none, they must go into the bottoms and browse through as best they can. Hence his calves are miserable affairs; his cows unfit to make butter from till the best of the season is over; his oxen, should he have a pair, must be recruiting from their winter's famine just when he most urgently needs their work. And this exposing cattle all winter to these fierce prairie-winds, is alike inhuman and wasteful. I asked a settler the other day how he *could* do it? "I had no time to make a shelter for them." "But had you no Sundays?—did you not have these at your disposal?" "O, yes? I don't work Sundays." "Well, you *should* have worked every one of them, rather than let your cattle shiver in the cold blasts all winter—it would have been a work of humanity and mercy to cut and haul logs, get up a cattle-stall, and cover it with prairie-hay, which I will warrant to be more religious than anything you did on those Sundays."

61. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 58, 73; *Daily Tribune*, June 7, 11, 1859.

Greeley thought that the "poor pioneer" should work for the first four or five years every hour that he did not absolutely need for rest.⁶²

In his third letter to the *Tribune*, Greeley wrote:

The twin curses of Kansas, now that the border-ruffians have stopped ravaging her, are land-speculation (whereof the manufacture of paper-cities and bogus corner-lots, though more amusingly absurd, is not half so mischievous as the grasping of whole townships by means of fraudulent pre-emptions and other devices familiar to the craft) and one-horse politicians.⁶³

Of the land speculators Greeley declared:

As to the infernal spirit of land speculation and monopoly, I think no state ever suffered from it more severely than this. The speculators in broadcloth are not one whit more rapacious or pernicious than the speculators in rags, while the latter are forty times the more numerous. Land speculation here is about the only business in which a man can embark with no other capital than an easy conscience. For example: I rode up the bluffs back of Atchison, and out three or four miles on the high rolling prairie, so as to have some fifteen to twenty square miles in view at one glance. On all this inviting area, there were perhaps half a dozen poor or middling habitations, while not one acre in each hundred was fenced or broken. My friend informed me that every rood I saw was "preempted," and held at thirty up to a hundred dollars or more per acre. "Preempted!" I exclaimed; "how preempted? by living or lying?" "Well," he responded, "they live a little and lie a little." I could see abundant evidence of the lying, none at all of the living.⁶⁴

Greeley considered that many of the "one-horse politicians" were driven into the free-state movement by the enormity of the border-ruffian outrages, by their own terror or indignation, and by the overwhelming force of public sentiment; but, being essentially demagogues, they gravitate irresistibly toward the sham-democracy, in whose embraces the whole tribe will bring up, sooner or later. . . .

The controlling idea of the one-horse politicians is that the Republicans must not let their adversaries have a chance to raise the cry of "nigger" against them—that hence they must be as harsh, and cruel, and tyrannical, toward the unfortunate blacks as possible, in order to prove themselves "the white man's party," or else all the mean, low, ignorant, drunken, brutish whites will go against them from horror of "negro equality." To which I reply that this sort of cattle are against the Republicans any how, and never can be permanently otherwise. They may be driven by circumstances to vote once or twice with us, but the virus of sham-democracy is in their blood, and must come out. That democracy, from long practice and an experience that it pays, can dive deeper, stay under longer, and come up nastier, in this business of negro-hating, than any other party that ever was or ever can be invented. There is nothing that more strikingly exposes the

62. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 61-67; *Daily Tribune*, June 9, 1859.

63. *An Overland Journey*, p. 36; *Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859.

64. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 68, 69; *Daily Tribune*, June 9, 1859.

radical baseness of slaveholding than the fact that its votaries so hate those they have long injured, that, beaten in their desperate struggle to force negroes into Kansas as slaves, they now turn a short corner and insist that, if they cannot come in as slaves, they shall be shut out, and even driven out, altogether.

I apprehend that it will be necessary for the Republicans of Kansas, in view of the inveterate western prejudices of a large portion of her population, to concede, for the present, that the right of suffrage shall be exercised only by white males, or men of European lineage, excluding, on account of their imperfect moral and intellectual developments, Indians, negroes, and their descendants. Further than this, I would not go, no matter how great the inducement. Leave the Democrats alone in their glory, when they come to propose and support—as they are certain to do—propositions that negroes shall be expelled and excluded from Kansas—shall be precluded from testifying against a white man—shall be debarred from attending schools frequented by white children, etc. etc.⁶⁵

Summing up, Greeley concluded: “Adieu to friendly greetings and speakings! Adieu for a time to pen and paper! Adieu to bedrooms and wash-bowls! Adieu (let me hope) to cold rains and flooded rivers! Hurrah for Pike’s Peak!”⁶⁶

In a briefer way Greeley recorded his impressions of Kansas in a letter to Charles A. Dana to whom he wrote on May 20, 1859: “Rain—mud most profound—flooded rivers and streams—glorious soil—worthless politicians.”⁶⁷

The stage started from Junction City at six a. m. on May 28. A few miles carried them beyond any road but that traced in the spring for the Pike’s Peak express, and for ten miles all signs of habitation had disappeared with the exception of one wretched cabin and an acre or two of broken ground. At Chapman’s creek they passed the last settler on the road, a farmer who had been there two or three years and had seventy-five acres fenced and broken, “grew three thousand bushels of corn last year,” had a fine stock of horses and cattle about him, “with at least eight tow-headed children under ten years old.” Greeley thought his house would be dear at fifty dollars but that he neither needed nor wished to be pitied.⁶⁸

At Station 8 on Chapman creek, a distance of twenty-three miles from Junction City, they halted to change mules and to dine. In the absence of a house, two tents and a brush arbor furnished accommodations for from six to fifteen persons. There were a score of mules picketed about on the grass, and a rail pen for two cows.

65. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 36-38; *Daily Tribune*, June 2, 1859.

66. *An Overland Journey*, p. 70; *Daily Tribune*, June 9, 1859.

67. Frank Root and W. E. Connelley, *The Overland Stage to California*, p. 602.

68. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 73-75; *Daily Tribune*, June 11, 1859.

The station keeper, his wife and two small girls lived here. They had an excellent dinner of bacon, greens, good bread, apple-sauce and pie upon a snowy tablecloth. Little time was lost for refreshments and the express was soon on the road again. While the trail was less cut up than in the east, the hills were steep since there were no bridges and causeways over the water-courses. That afternoon the travelers saw their first antelope, several of them being within rifle shot of the stage. They crossed many old buffalo trails but saw no buffalo that day. Greeley noticed that the limestone had changed to sandstone and that the soil was thinner and the grass less luxuriant, and the furious rains running off without any obstruction had washed "wide and devious water-courses."

At Station 9 on Pipe creek⁶⁹ the express stopped for the night. Here their hostess had two small tents, as at the previous station, which she informed her guests were of little protection in a drenching rain, and that she and her two children might as well be on the prairie. A log house, however, was in the process of construction. After eating a "capital supper" the two newspaper men sat in the coach writing letters by lantern light to their respective newspapers. The vehicle was shaking with the strong wind and it is possible that the *Tribune* printers found Greeley's letter less legible than usual. This was his sixth "Overland Journey" letter to the *Tribune*. He wrote:

I believe I have now descended the ladder of artificial life nearly to its lowest round. If the Cheyennes—thirty of whom stopped the last express down on the route we must traverse, and tried to beg or steal from it—shall see fit to capture and strip us, we shall probably have further experience in the same line; but for the present the progress I have made during the last fortnight toward the primitive simplicity of human existence may be roughly noted thus:

May 12th.—*Chicago*.—Chocolate and morning newspapers last seen on the breakfast table.

23rd.—*Leavenworth*.—Room-bells and baths make their final appearance.

24th.—*Topeka*.—Beef-steak and wash-bowls (other than tin) last visible. Barber ditto.

26th.—*Manhattan*.—Potatoes and eggs last recognized among the blessings that "brighten as they take their flight," chairs ditto.

27th.—*Junction City*.—Last visitation of a boot-black, with dissolving views of a board bedroom. Beds bid us good-by.

28th.—*Pipe Creek*.—Benches for seats at meals have disappeared, giving place to bags and boxes. We (two passengers of a scribbling turn) write our letters in the express-wagon that has borne us by day, and must supply us

69. Pipe Creek station was in the southeastern part of present Ottawa county.

lodgings for the night. Thunder and lighting from both south and west give strong promise of a shower before morning. Dubious looks at several holes in the canvas covering of the wagon. Our trust, under Providence, is in buoyant hearts and an India-rubber blanket. Good night.⁷⁰

The violent rain and wind storm came that night as anticipated but neither tents nor wagons were upset. The travelers rose early, breakfasted at six, and said goodbye to Pipe creek with its fringe of low elms and cottonwoods. Greeley considered the soil good in this section of the state but not equal to that of the eastern part. Their route kept on the ridges away from the bottoms and marshes, but occasionally in crossing streams with steep banks and miry beds they would become stalled and an extra span of mules from the other express wagon (the express wagons were always sent in pairs) would help pull them out. At Station 10⁷¹ they dined, the meal being served on a box, and the guests sitting on pieces of wood, carpet-sacks, or nail kegs.⁷²

On May 29 Greeley saw his first herd of buffalo. He was thrilled at the sight, describing it as follows:

On rising our first ridge this morning, a herd of buffalo was seen grazing on the prairie some three miles, toward the Solomon; soon, more were visible; then others. At length, a herd of perhaps a hundred appeared on the north—the only one we saw on that side of our road during the day. Having been observed, they were heading down the valley of a small creek toward the Solomon. Just then, the tents and wagons of a body of encamped Pike's Peakers appeared right across a little creek; two men were running across the prairie on foot to get a shot at the buffalo; another was mounting a horse with like intent. The herd passed on a long, awkward gallop north of the tents and struck southwest across our road some forty rods ahead of us. A Sharps' rifle was leveled and fired at them by one of our party, but seemed rather to hasten than arrest their progress. But one old bull shambled along behind in a knock-kneed fashion (having probably been lamed by some former party); and he was fired at twice by our marksmen as he attempted to cross the road—once when only fifteen rods distant. They thought they wounded him fatally, but he vanished from our sight behind a low hill, and their hasty search for him proved unsuccessful.

Thence nearly all day, the buffalo in greater or less numbers were visible among the bottoms of the Solomon on our right—usually two to three miles distant. At length, about 5 p.m., we reached the crest of a "divide," whence we looked down on the valley of a creek running to the Solomon some three miles distant, and saw the whole region from half a mile to three miles south of our road, and for an extent of at least four miles east and west, fairly alive with buffalo. There certainly were not less than ten thousand

70. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 75-79; *Daily Tribune*, June 11, 1859; Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-163.

71. Station 10 was in the southwest part of present Cloud county.

72. A. D. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

of them; I believe there were many more. Some were feeding, others lying down, others pawing up the earth, rolling on it, etc. The novel spectacle was too tempting for our sportsmen. The wagons were stopped, and two men walked quietly toward the center of the front of the herd. Favored by a water-course, they crept up to within fifty rods of the buffalo, and fired eight or ten shots into the herd, with no visible effect. The animals nearest the hunters retreated as they advanced, but the great body of the herd was no more disturbed or conscious of danger than if a couple of mosquitos had alighted among them. After an hour of this fruitless effort, the hunters gave it up, alleging that their rifle was so foul and badly sighted as to be worthless. They rejoined us, and we came away, leaving nine-tenths of the vast herd exactly where we found them. And there they doubtless are sleeping at this moment, about three miles from us.⁷³

Greeley considered that they were in the heart of the buffalo region. Occupants of the stage they met coming from the west in the evening reported they had seen millions within the last two days. A company of Pike's Peakers had killed thirteen, and at the next station west eight were killed by simply stampeding a herd and driving them over a high creek-bank, where they broke their necks. "Buffalo-meat is hanging or lying all around us," wrote Greeley, "and a calf two or three months old is tied to a stake just beside our wagons." They passed parties of Pike's Peak emigrants who had lost three oxen in a stampede of buffalos, and the mules at the express stations had to be watched carefully to prevent a similar catastrophe.

Although their road had only been established about two months they passed two graves that day, one the grave of an infant and the other that of a Missourian who had started to Pike's Peak. They also met many returning from the gold region who gave most discouraging reports as to the richness of the mines.⁷⁴

At Reisinger's creek, Station 13,⁷⁵ the express spent the night of May 30. In the morning while the wheels of the wagon were being greased, Greeley began his eighth letter, writing in the station-tent, with buffalo visible on the ridges south and in every direction but north of him. He insisted on writing once more about the animals and promised to drop the subject as he expected to be out of their range by night:

All day yesterday they darkened the earth around us, often seeming to be drawn up like an army in battle array on the ridges and adown their slopes a mile or so south of us—often on the north as well. They are rather shy of little screens of straggling timber on the creek-bottoms—doubtless

73. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 81-83; *Daily Tribune*, June 14, 1859.

74. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 83-85; *Daily Tribune*, June 14, 1859.

75. Station 13 was in the southeastern part of present Phillips county.

from their sore experience of Indians lurking therein to discharge arrows at them as they went down to drink. If they feed in the grass of the narrow valleys and ravines, they are careful to have a part of the herd on the ridges which overlook them, and with them the surrounding country for miles. And, when an alarm is given, they all rush furiously off in the direction which the leaders presume that of safety.

This is what gives us such excellent opportunities for regarding them to the best advantage. They are moving northward, and are still mainly south of our track. Whenever alarmed, they set off on their awkward but effective canter to the great herds still south, or to haunts with which they are comparatively familiar, and wherein they have hitherto found safety. This necessarily sends those north of us across our roads often but a few rods in front of us, even when they had started a mile away. Then a herd will commence running across a hundred rods ahead of us, and, the whole blindly following their leader, we will be close upon them before the last will have cleared the track. . . .

What strikes the stranger with most amazement is their immense numbers. I know a million is a great many, but I am confident we saw that number yesterday. Certainly, all we saw could not have stood on ten square miles of ground. Often, the country for miles on either hand seemed quite black with them. The soil is rich, and well matted with their favorite grass. Yet it is all (except a very little on the creek-bottoms, near to timber) eaten down like an overtaxed sheep-pasture in a dry August. Consider that we have traversed more than one hundred miles in width since we first struck them, and that for most of this distance the buffalo have been constantly in sight, and that they continue for some twenty-five miles further on—this being the breadth of their present range, which has a length of perhaps a thousand miles—and you have some approach to an idea of their countless myriads. . . . It is hard to realize that this is the center of a region of wilderness and solitude, so far as the labors of civilized man are concerned—that the first wagon passed through it some two months ago. But the utter absence of houses or buildings of any kind, and our unbridged, unworked road, winding on its way for hundreds of miles without a track other than of buffalo intersecting or leading away from it on either hand, bring us back to the reality. . . .

A good many shots have been fired—certainly not by me; even were I in the habit of making war on nature's children, I would as soon think of shooting my neighbor's oxen as these great, clumsy, harmless, creatures. If they were scarce, I might comprehend the idea of hunting them for sport; here, they are so abundant that you might as well hunt your neighbor's geese. . . .

A party of our drivers, who went back seven miles on mules last evening, to help get our rear wagon out of a gully in which it had mired and stuck fast, from which expedition they returned at midnight, report that they found the road absolutely dangerous from the crowds of buffalo feeding on either side, and running across it—that, the night being quite dark, they were often in great danger of being run over and run down by the headlong brutes. They were obliged to stand still for minutes, and fire their revolvers right and left, to save their lives and their mules. . . .

Two nights ago, an immense herd came down upon a party of Pike's Peakers camped just across the creek from this station, and, (it being dark) were with difficulty prevented from trampling down tents, cattle, and people. Some fifty shots were fired into them before they could be turned. And now our station-master has just taken his gun to scare them off so as to save our mules from stampede.

But the teams have returned with the missing coach, and I must break off and pack to go on.⁷⁶

Fifty-five miles farther on when they stopped for the night of May 31 at Station 15 on Prairie Dog creek,⁷⁷ Greeley finished "Overland Journey" letter eight. This station was kept by an ex-Cincinnati lawyer and his wife who was formerly an actress at the Bowery theater. She was now cooking and working for stage passengers "on the great desert" several hundred miles beyond civilization.⁷⁸ Greeley thought this station was just half way between Leavenworth and Denver, and he reported the coach had been a week making the journey. For the last twenty-five miles of the day's travel he had not seen a buffalo, but as the buffalo grass had not been eaten down and there were indications that this was a favorite feeding ground for them, he concluded they had not yet reached this region in their search for forage.

Other animals with whom Greeley had formed a "passing acquaintance" were the prairie wolf which he described as a "sneaking, cowardly little wretch," whose only feat entitling him to rank as beast of prey consisted in digging out a prairie-dog and making a meal of it when he was pressed by hunger. However, the gray wolf he described as a scoundrel of "much more imposing caliber." This "prairie-lawyer" lurks around the outskirts of a herd of buffalo, waiting for an unlucky calf strayed beyond the exterior line of defense formed by the bulls, or if he is extra hungry he will attempt to cut a cow off from the herd, drive her away until she is beyond hope of rescue, when her doom is sealed. His greatest hope, however, is to find a buffalo, wounded by some hunter, that cannot keep up with the herd. A few snaps at his hamstrings, taking care to avoid his horns, "insures that the victim will have ceased to be a buffalo, and become mere wolf-meat before another morning."⁷⁹ The prairie dog he considered a funny little fellow, frisky and a source of merriment to others. But he thought the

76. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 86-91; *Daily Tribune*, June 18, 1859.

77. Prairie Dog creek is a branch of the Republican river, flowing northeast through Decatur, Norton and Phillips counties. Station 15 was in the west central part of present Norton county.

78. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

79. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 91-93; *Daily Tribune*, June 18, 1859.

only animal on the plain that could justly boast of either grace or beauty was the antelope. He was also fond of antelope flesh which he described as tender and delicate and the choicest meat he had found in Kansas. Antelope were the chief sustenance of the Indians out of the buffalo range.⁸⁰

At Station 16,⁸¹ kept by a Vermont boy, the express stopped on June 1 to change teams and dine. Here the travelers encountered the wild plains Indians. A band of Arapahoes was encamped near the station. Most of the men were away on a marauding expedition against the Pawnees while the remainder, with the women and children, were left in the lodges. Some thirty or forty children were playing on the grass. These children Greeley described as thorough savages with an "allowance of clothing averaging six inches square of buffalo skin to each, but so unequally distributed that the majority had a most scanty allowance."⁸² After seeing several bands of Indians, he thought the Arapahoes were the most numerous and the most repulsive.

Just before reaching Station 17 where they were to spend the night an accident caused Greeley slight injuries. As he related it, he and his fellow passenger were having a jocular discussion on the gullies into which the coach so frequently plunged, to their personal discomfort.

[Richardson] premised that it was a consolation that the sides of these gullies could not be worse than perpendicular; to which I rejoined with the assertion that they could be and were—for instance, where a gully, in addition to its perpendicular descent had an inclination of forty-five degrees or so to one side of the track. Just then, a violent lurch of the wagon to one side, then to the other, in descending one of these jolts, enforced my position. Two minutes later, as we were about to descend the steep bank of the creek-intervale, the mules acting perversely (being frightened, I fear, by Indians) my friend stepped out to take them by the head, leaving me alone in the wagon. Immediately we began to descend the steep pitch, the driver pulling up with all his might, when the left rein of the leaders broke, and the team was in a moment sheared out of the road and ran diagonally down the pitch. In a second, the wagon went over, hitting the ground a most spiteful blow. I of course went over with it, and when I rose to my feet as soon as possible, considerable bewildered and disheveled, the mules had been disengaged by the upset and were making good time across the prairie, while the driver, considerably hurt, was getting out from under the carriage to limp after them. I had a slight cut on my left cheek and a deep gouge from the sharp corner of a seat in my left leg below the knee, with a pretty smart con-

80. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 94, 102; *Daily Tribune*, June 18 and 20, 1859.

81. Station 16 was in the north central part of present Decatur county.

82. *An Overland Journey*, p. 104; *Daily Tribune*, June 20, 1859. See, also, Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

cussion generally, but not a bone started nor a tendon strained, and I walked away to the station as firmly as ever, leaving the superintendent and my fellow-passenger to pick up the pieces and guard the baggage from the Indians who instantly swarmed about the wreck.⁸³

The woman at the station dressed Greeley's wounds and aside from being sore and lame for a few days he was uninjured. This was the first accident that had happened to the express line and was the result of a casualty for which neither driver nor company was to blame.⁸⁴

Station 17 was just over the line in present Nebraska and from here the route ran slightly northwest to the Republican river. It returned to Kansas farther on and cut diagonally across present Cheyenne county and entered present Colorado.

At Station 18⁸⁵ Greeley began his ninth letter on June 2 entitling it "The American Desert." He described the winds that swept the prairie region as terrible. Throughout their morning ride they had not seen a tree and but one bunch of shrubs until they came in sight of the Republican river. He thought he had reached the "acme of barrenness and desolation." There was little grass; the soil was thin, and the sand along the water courses seemed to be "as pure as Sahara can boast." The dearth of water was fearful. Although the whole region was deeply seamed and gullied by water-courses, then dry, but in rainy weather mill-streams, there were no springs bursting forth from their steep sides. He continued:

We have not passed a drop of living water in all our morning's ride, and but a few pailfuls of muddy moisture at the bottoms of a very few of the fast-drying sloughs or sunken holes in the beds of dried-up creeks. Yet there has been much rain here this season, some of it not long ago. But this is a region of sterility and thirst. . . .

Even the animals have deserted us. No buffalo have been seen this year within many miles of us, . . . not a gray-wolf has honored us with his company to-day—he prefers to live where there is something to eat—the prairie-dog also wisely shuns this land of starvation; no animal but the gopher . . . abounds here; and he burrows deep in the sand and picks up a living, I cannot guess how.⁸⁶

At Station 19,⁸⁷ the last station on the route in present Kansas, the express stopped for the night of June 2. A large Cheyenne

83. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 105, 106; *Daily Tribune*, June 20, 1859.

84. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

85. Station 18 was on the south fork of the Republican river near present Benkelman, Nebr. Here the route turned sharply to the southwest and again entered Kansas.

86. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 98-100; *Daily Tribune*, June 20, 1859.

87. Station 19 was situated near the south fork of the Republican river possibly a short distance east of the present Colorado line and in the southwestern part of present Cheyenne county.

village was near by. The party had also met bands of Kiowas, Arapahoes and Sioux. The Cheyennes appeared better clothed than the Arapahoes and seemed to have more self-respect, but Greeley considered them all low in the scale of intellectual and moral beings.

The next day, June 3, the party entered present Colorado and on June 6, they rode into Denver. Barely thirteen days before Greeley had left Leavenworth in high spirits and he "dropped into Denver" that morning, as he said, "in a sobered and thoughtful frame of mind, in dust-begrimed and tattered habiliments, with a patch on his cheek, a bandage on his leg, and a limp in his gait, altogether constituting a spectacle most rueful to behold."⁸⁸ He spent fifteen days in the Denver region and then set out for the Pacific coast, and from there returned to New York by way of the Isthmus.

In October, 1870, Greeley, on another visit to Kansas, lectured at Lawrence and Topeka. Two years later he was candidate for President of the United States on the Liberal Republican ticket. He died on November 29, 1872, less than a month after the death of his wife and only a few weeks after U. S. Grant defeated him in the November elections.

88. *An Overland Journey*, pp. 104-114; *Daily Tribune*, June 20 and July 9, 1859.

The Letters of Samuel James Reader, 1861-1863

Pioneer of Soldier Township, Shawnee County

(Concluded)

[To His Half-Sister Mary Ellen (Ella) Reader]

[March 14, 1862.]

D[EAR]. S[ISTER]. ELLA,
"Old Bachelor" was highly delighted on receiving yours of Feb 26 and Mats [Martha's] of 27th on the 7th instant; but implore you to be merciful to me by not sending your petition to our Legisla. as it will if it should be granted place me in a predicament. Do not suppose that I think writing to you school girls an irksome task for it is the reverse; but were I to write 2 letters to your one I am afraid I should not hear from you often enough and my letters would be neither punctual nor interesting. The other horn of the dilemma you wish to create I see is marriage. Well it is truly formidable indeed and I will certainly have to cry for quarter if I am to be driven to this extremity (?) Not because I am an enemy to this institution but because young Ladies are as scarce here as K. timber or to use a more forcible expression "*hen teeth*." I hope you do not wish me to get an Indian lady? They are plenty enough a few miles West—but some how I do not get fascinated by these noble daughters of the forest (or prairie rather) Perhaps you have formed a very high opinion of this race If you have I pray you to suspend your judgment until you have seen as much of them as I have Quite a number of white men of this neighborhood have married Pott[awatomie]. Halfbreed girls but there is no danger of my imitating them in this particular Many of these Indian girls are quite good looking but their education is generally very deficient, with the exception of a few who have attended the C[atholic]. Mission 20 mi. from here, and although they are gradually adopting the manners of the Whites, still their mode of living customs and dress differ considerably from them. Well I have plead my cause to the best of my ability, and now throw myself on your generosity— If this will not suffice I will have to resort to the pencil and send you a representation of my doleful countenance in this *awful fix* and see if it will not melt your obdurate heart. The Dr & family returned the 4 inst. from Ill. The little girl brought the measles with her and

Leon has taken them from her, but both are now out of danger My Cousins F[rances]. & E[ugene]. we suppose are infected but the disease has not yet shown its self. . . . They say that times are very hard in Ill as well as in K. The friends were generally well there, last winter but U[nle] S[amuel]'s children were taking the measles as they left. I received a letter from F[rank]. on the 18 of Feb and answered it the next day. I suppose by this time he is moving S—ward as we heard a rumor the other day that Manassas has been evacuated by the Rebels. By all means send me Franks next communications to the newspapers. If our political sentiments be a little different it does not lessen my pleasure in reading his views politically considered. You ask me how I like our new Secy of War. Well at first I felt angry when I heard of the removal of Cameron because I thought it was owing to his abolition sentiments but when the full particulars came I felt satisfied Mr. Stanton is a very suitable man for the position. There can be no doubt of that and I am now very glad that the change in the War Department was made In my last Tribune I saw Gen. Fremonts defence. How I wish him now in command of our victorious troops in Tenn. Slaves would no longer be driven from camp or delivered over to the tender mercies of their masters. You want to know how I spent the 22 of Feb. Well not in a suitable manner I fear. By looking at my journal I find that I drew wood all day Yes Ella as you say we can hold ourselves in readiness to celebrate victories almost every day The war for us is going on in fine style We heard last night that Gen Price had been defeated in Ark by the U. troops. Their loss 1000. Ours: 600. No details yet. The most we have to fear is the fever during the summer months in the S states, to my mind I think it would be a capital idea for you to learn to be a surveyor and then, come to K. and sectionize our unsurveyed land. You could then have your choice of the best claims. We hear that the Pott[awatomie]. Indian 2 m[ile]s. W[est] of us intend to sell their reserve of 30 ms. square to U. S. It is not yet surveyed and I think this will be a fine chance for you to begin with. Thereby showing that the gentler sex are capable of taking care of themselves I am emphatically in favor of "Woman's Rights," for the present as it is the best policy for an *old bachelor* like me to follow. I have had the words and air of John Brown song for several months and would send it, but I saw it in the N. Y. T. a week ago and suppose you have got it from that source. It is to the air of "Say brother will you meet us," slightly modified. Give my warmest thanks to sister Mat for the

"Star S[pangled]. Banner," which I duly recd She also gave me a very interesting extract from Franks letter. If there be any other tunes you wish to see, name them for it may be I have them We have 7 books about the house containing the notes of many well known songs and I have copied all the tunes that suit my fancy in my flute book. I have a violin and an instructor for that instrument and I now and then try to saw off a tune I can do the best with the "L [Fisher's?] Hornpipe" and "The Campbells are coming" but I make slow progress. No more &c.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[March 20, 1862.]

D[ear]. B[rother]. F[rank],

Your long and interesting letter of March 5 was recd with much pleasure on the 19 inst. We are all well excepting the Drs children. They are just recovering from the measles which they brought from Ill. My Cousins Fanny [or Frances] & Eugene have probably been infected but the disease has not yet shown itself The Dr & family returned from Ill on the 4th of March They say times are as hard there as here The weather has been tolerably pleasant for some time but it is snowing to day but not freezing. I was pleased to hear of the excellent health of your Reg. Disease is said to be more destructive to an army than the sword and your precautions in keeping your quarters clean cannot be too highly commended. When I returned from Nebraska the time I went there with the Topeka boys I did not present a very fine appearance³⁰ I had started without any change of clothes and although I had washed or tried to wash my shirt in the Nimehaw [Nemaha], still I was about as dirty and tired looking as you could possibly imagine a person to be when I reached home, we having travelled by forced marches 75 or 85 ms under a hot Aug sun, often suffering dreadfully from thirst and some times from hunger. I never exactly knew what hunger was till one day when our baggage wagon got lost from us and we had to fast for 24 h after a hard days march. I declare I was so ravenous I could have eaten any thing. I had seen one of our men a few days before eating a piece of raw fat pork which appeared very disgusting to me at the time but now I would have been very glad to have followed his example had I only possessed the meat. Once we marched 10 or 12 ms. without water we having but 3 or 4 canteens in our Co. At last we came to a hog wallow full of muddy water covered with

30. Samuel Reader joined the Topeka company sent to Nebraska to guard Lane's emigrant train into Kansas territory. See Footnote 11 (February, 1940, *Quarterly*).

a green scum and as warm as dish water & I suppose about as palatable. I drank more than a pint of this stuff. During the 2 weeks I was out on this jaunt I did not sleep under cover of any kind and had only a small blanket to roll myself in. My short experience is I suppose often the daily life of many of the soldiers now in the field. I see you use some pretty sharp expressions against "hold Hingland" Why F. what will our father say were he to hear you speak so hard of his native Land? When I was from 5 to 10 ys old my Grandfather used to tell me a great deal about the sneaking Tories and rascally "Redcoats" and from this I formed a very unfavorable opinion of the whole English nation and it was a matter of surprise to me why we should still call our language "English" a name which sounded hateful to my ears. But I have since come to the conclusion that they like the Father of Lies, have been painted blacker than they really are The Rulers are many of them very mean and roguish no doubt especially in oppressing the weak and it must be that our S[outhern]. slave holders have inherited this disposition from them. Still they have many "good streaks" about them. All the E[nglish]. people with whom I have been acquainted appear to be good honest men only a little too strongly tinctured with pride and (here I condemn myself) obstinacy. In short, the E[nglish], taking all things into consideration are a fine upright people, far ahead of the other European nations in their form of Gov. but vastly inferior to us in this particular. I read with interest your further remarks about emancipation but like you I do not wish to begin an argument in regard to it because I might come out at the little end of the horn were I to commence a "paper war" with you. I heartily endorse nearly all that you have added in your last letter. When I wrote my last letter to you I felt quite despondent about the Slavery question, but now it appears as if a cloud had been lifted from my mind; a presentament as it were that all will come out right in the end If I be wrong in my peculiar views remember that the best of us are sometimes in error. You inquire of me if there be any Gov. land here. This land upon which we live was called the "Delaware Trust Lands" and was sold in 1857, by U. S. to the highest bidder; the "squatter" having the privilege of taking one qr. sec. at the appraised value provided he should prove himself to be a *bona fide* resident of the same.³¹ It was valued in this

31. By order of the Interior Department, sale of the Delaware trust lands "was advertised to begin at Fort Leavenworth November 17, 1854, to be limited at first to the land lying east of ranges 18 and 19, and to continue until December 13, 1856. The land west of these two ranges was sold at Osawakie in the summer of 1857."—Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, p. 89.

T[ownship]. from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per acre. The non resident land were put up and sold to the highest bidder, mostly to speculators. For the last year or 2 the price of land was fallen in a remarkable degree; and men who have asked \$20 pr acre formerly would now sell for \$10. A man 3 m[ile]s N[orth] of town sold a farm of 280 with perhaps 80 acres of timber and quite a field, of say 50 or 60 acres for \$1200 a few weeks ago. He was in debt and had to sell. My brother in law told me today that a qr. is offered for sale a few m[ile]s. N E for \$300 but it is all prairie. Do not think you will find any difficulty in getting prairie. I believe 9/10ths of the land here is of that description. As I received your letter late last night and it is storming to day I have not had a chance to make inquiries. The Pott Indians are to send agents to Washington next Mond and it is said the Ind. will sell all of their Reserve of 30 ms square, reserving from 160 to 80 a for each Ind. This Reserve is 2 m[ile]s W of Ind[ianola]. and is fine land. I think you might find a good tract there should they sell to the R R. Co. if they have not done so already ³² I am not posted in regard to land as I have enough and do not wish to buy. In my next I will be better informed depend upon it for nothing would give me more pleasure than to see you a Kansas citizen. Have you a land warrant or do you expect to get one from the Gov.? Everything that I can do for you in this matter I will do with the greatest pleasure. Well I cant go on as my letter is full.

Your very affectionate brother.

Saml. Reader.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[April 26, 1862.]

D[ear] Bro.

After a long silence I rec'd on the 24th a welcome letter from you dated Monterey [Va.], Apr 8, giving me a pleasing a/c. of your journey, Rebel fortifications &c. It must have an inspiring effect upon you soldiers to make another step towards the enemy and of course towards the termination of the war for it is now very obvious to my mind that the Pro S. traitors will be "cleaned out" in a very short time judging from our recent victories. I suppose you are

32. On November 15, 1861, the United States made a treaty with the three bands of Pottawatomie Indians that had settled in the eastern part of the Kansas reserve. One band received eleven square miles as its share. The other two bands were allotted land in severalty. The residue was offered to the Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad Co. The treaty was amended by resolution of the senate, April 15, 1862.—*A Compilation of All the Treaties Between the United States and the Indian Tribes* . . . (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1873), pp. 683-690. See, also, *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. VIII, p. 102.

under command of Gen. Fremont now? ³³ I have been and will still continue looking with great interest for all and any news from your Department as you are the only relative I have in the army so far as I know. We are all well. Your little nephew Frank Reader Campdoras, also. Our Spring has been very backward and no farming yet 3 Reg.'s have passed through Indianola for Ft. Riley a few days ago, making quite a stir in our quiet little town. Our Secesh friends were all strong Union men. Now about that *land business*. I heard day before yesterday that the Treaty has been made whereby the Pott. Indians turn over most of their lands to the R R Co. The Indians are not allowed to sell that reserved to themselves within a certain number of years (5 I believe) I suppose an order to give the R. R. Co. a chance to sell theirs without competition, as Indians when in need of money will sell for almost any price. I have not yet heard what the Co. will sell for per acre, but it cannot be priced high; as land is very cheap throughout Kan.³⁴ The Dr. [Campdoras] says that a patient of his, informed him the other day that land on the Waukarusia [Wakarusa] (a stream) 7 m[ile]s S E of Lawrence, good land some of it half timber can be bought for \$2.50 per acre if paid down in cash. A Mr. Allen was here a few days ago and said that there is plenty of very good land on the Cottonwood creek (about 100 m[ile]s S W of here) but it is mostly prairie. This land is surveyed and open to pre-emption or private entry at \$1.25 per acre. I once took a claim on this stream and I considered this locality a fine one as I had ever seen in Kan. Land can now be bought at extremely low prices here in Kan, provided the owners be paid "cash up, and no grumbl[ing]." So come along as soon as you can, and see how you like our State. (I am sure you will), and buy. I will close. You must excuse this brief letter as I have never had more work before me than now, as the man who worked my field last year is now in the Army. I am at present enlarging my Aunts field. I have not yet heard from my sisters since I wrote to Ella on the 14 of March. Two things I am afraid will make you dissatisfied with our State, viz: Chills and fever and the scarcity of young ladies. No more. Your brother Samuel J. Reader.

33. On March 11, 1862, a new department west of the Department of the Potomac and east of the Department of the Mississippi was created and General Frémont was put in command.—*The Kansas State Journal*, Lawrence, March 20, 1862.

34. The Leavenworth, Pawnee and Western Railroad Co. was given the privilege of buying the remainder of the Pottawatomie lands at \$1.25 an acre, but the treaty did not specify the number of years the Indians should hold their land before they sold it.—*A Compilation of All the Treaties Between the United States and the Indian Tribes* . . . , p. 686.

[To His Half-Sister Martha]

[May 4, 1862.]

Dear Sister Martha,

Ellas very interesting letter of Apr. 9 & 18 came to hand a few days ago and I improve the present opportunity to write one to you. We are all tolerably well. My cousins did not take the measles Aunt E has had a few (as she thinks) light chills. The Dr [Campdoras] & family are all well, but Leon is not very strong. He is quite subject to the fever and ague. The Dr. is very busy now in his professional duties, being seldom allowed to remain at home for a whole day at a time. Perhaps it will sound strange when I tell you that Frank Reader [Campdoras] has just come in as I am writing. This is a puzzle for you to find out by the time I write to you again. Our Spring has been very backward No planting done yet. I am so busy now that I can hardly "turn around," as farming help is so scarce; So many having gone to the war. Our latest good news is that N[ew]. O[rleans]. has been taken by U. S.³⁵ but nothing has pleased me more than Old Abes Emancipation Message and the abolition of Slavery in the Dist. of Columbia.³⁶ I have not yet got my daguerreotype for you. A Connecticut Yankee has been taking pictures for a while in town, but they are very inferior indeed. I send you a likeness of myself taken from the looking glass. The position in which I sat threw rather a dark shade on the hair and eyes but not enough to hurt it any. It is not well executed; The color is not smooth enough on the face on account of my not having the proper kind of brushes. Still it is said to look like me in feature. In painting I have to learn every thing from actual experiment which is a very slow way causing me many mistakes and much trouble. I must try and get a book of instruction on painting in water colors and good painting and drawing materials as I delight in nothing more than making pictures While I was living in Wellsburg Va. Father gave me a slate and on this I made my first attempt at drawing In La Harpe [Ill.] I had a perfect passion for picture making and rec'd many reprimands at sch. when the teacher would find my slate covered with them instead of figures I have always desired to take lessons in drawing and painting but never had an opportunity. This picture I send you is quite correct in out line and expression and the persons to whom I have shown it do not fail to recognize it; By the way you must not be surprised if I have made this likeness better

35. New Orleans surrendered to Capt. David G. Farragut late in April, 1862.—John W. Burgess, *The Civil War and the Constitution* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), v. II, p. 5.

36. Slavery was abolished April 16, 1862, in the District of Columbia.—*Ibid.*, p. 82.

looking than the original I send you a lock of my hair so you can see the true color I will also give you a few items of my personal appearance. I stand six feet 2 & ½ in or a trifle over, in common shoes. Am rather slender for my height; not in the least corpulent As is usual with persons taking much out door exercise and performing out door labor, my face is somewhat bronzed by the sun and my movements are perhaps more energetic than graceful. I weigh at present 177 lbs so I am about the average height and weight of the men composing the Queen of E[ngland]s. Life Guard I will try and send you more specimens of my drawing, also my miniature if I can have a good one taken I was much pleased to learn in Ella's last letter that F[rank] was studying Latin and short hand when he last wrote. It certainly argues a great thirst for knowledge to see him amidst the bustle and excitement of camp life pursue his usual studies. I am afraid the same cannot be said of any who left this neighborhood for the camp. It appears from what I have learned from some of "the boys" who came up on furlough that they all have had a jolly time generally; many of them, Lieut. R—(first capt. of F[remont]. G[uards].) especially spending all or nearly all of their pay. Whisky drinking and gambling were two of the prominent vices. If the short hand F is studying is Longleys Phon. perhaps we can after awhile correspond in it. I took lessons in it in /'55 but am now rusty. F[ran]k tells me he intends to buy land in K. and I need not tell you the pleasure it gives me for he will never consent to farm the hills of Penn after seeing our rich and fertile valleys. You know Horace Greely said K. farmers could get rich, if they would keep out of debt, and not hunt office. My conscience is clear on the first and although not an office seeker still I was guilty of filing my bond and taking the oath of office as T[ownship]. T[rustee]. for S[oldier]. Town[ship], a few weeks ago. Perhaps our Father will laugh at me but I am not without excuse, as I gave a reluctant consent to be a candidate only after I learned that it would not much interfere with my business. I rec'd 69 of the 72 votes cast the Dem.'s making no opposition. I rec'd a letter from Frank on the 24 of Apr. and answered it on the 25. Tell Ella that the Pott. Treaty has been ratified and the lands are to be surveyed this Summer perhaps What a pleasure to see her coming over the prairie with compass & chain But she says that cannot be. My gizzard (heart I meant to have said) is "as full as a tick" with gratitude for her clemency May I never have a harsher judge I will close

Affec'te your

S. J. R.

Strictly private and confidential to Ella.

Dr. S[ister].

In your letter you gave me a description of a young lady a Miss M E. which has greatly interested me. Like the shy crusty old bachelor that I am I have never been struck by the shafts of that mythical little "shaver" carrying a bow and arrows and going around trying to shoot some body. Therefore your letter has made much impression on my mind. You ask how I like the description. I cant say I have any preference for any colored eyes or hair but believe when I think of it that I *do* prefer *black* eyes and hair. Please use your influence in my favor and I shall be forever grateful. Will you not send your cousin's name in full? I must of necessity close for want of room

Your brother

S. J. Reader.

[To Peter McVicar, County Superintendent]

[June 4, 1862.]

Dear Sir

Enclosed I send you a list of the names of persons in favor of having a sch. dist. organized and also of those opposed to the design as you requested me to do the other day. I have seen at least one member of nearly every family in your proposed district and they have all with a few exceptions expressed their willingness to give their hearty support to the movement. Even a number of those who have no children wish to co-operate in advancing Public Instruction. A number of ladies entitled to vote at District meetings put their names down in favor of the Dist. I have marked their names with a cross. You can send your notices to me and I will see that they are posted; and if there be anything else in which I can assist you I shall do it with pleasure³⁷

Resp'y yours

S. J. R.

[To His Half-Sister Ella]

[July 7, 1862.]

D[ea]r S. E.

Last week Matties [Martha's] welcome letter came to hand containing many items of interest but with the melancholy intelligence of our Father's severe illness a short time ago. His picture was safely rec'd and is highly prized. My Aunt thinks it looks more natural than the one you sent some years ago. We are all tolerably

37. On the margin of his diary Reader noted in 1911 that this was the beginning of School District No. 42 in Shawnee county.

well only I have not felt entirely well for some time Leon had something like a congestive chill last week but is now out of danger. Eliza was frightened some as the Dr is now in the U. S. Army. She called in a Dr. living in Ind[ianola]. who set Leon "all right" in a day or two. Aunt E and my cousins are well Dade (the little girl) is lively. My nephew F[rank]. R[eader]. C[ampdoras]. has excellent health; He was 3 mos old the 2ond of this mo. About the middle of May Col R of the 2ond Reg. of Indian H[ome]. G[uards]. offered my brother in law a situation as surgeon in the Reg. which the Dr. [Campdoras] accepted. The regiment is to move Southward immediately They were at Humboldt Kan. when the Dr wrote last He dont like camp life very well, Got homesick in a few days &c But is mostly disturbed for fear Leon may be taken sick. Our weather is now dry and hot. Corn is suffering from the drouth. Wheat is splendid and has been fit to cut for the last two weeks. I have cradled more grain this year than I have since I left Illinois. The 8 Reg. K[ansas]. V[olunteer]. I[nfantry]. is now in Tenn. The boys from this section did not like the idea of leaving the State, as they enlisted, as they supposed, as H[ome]. G[uards].s. Martha informed me that Frank has seen a battle, but I have not yet received a letter from him. His last was dated Apr 8th and I was getting very uneasy at his long silence. I supposed from newspaper reports that he had participated in the battle of Cross Keys as I saw Gen. Milroys command mentioned. It must have been a terrific battle from what I hear. I am very anxious to get a detailed account of the engagement from Frank; and if he has sent any communications to the papers in regard to it, please forward the paper on to me. I sincerely hope this dreadful war may be brought to a speedy termination, but I fear we are not half through yet. We heard of McClellans defeat the other day.³⁸ I inquired the news of lawyer T. (who is a traitor at heart,) as from his gay and cheerful countenance I supposed "something was up." He looked around and seeing who I was drew on a long face and replied that the news was "most disastrous for us." (?) We also hear that Gen. Curtis is surrounded and in danger of capture and that the President has called for 200,000 more men.³⁹ If this last be true I suppose drafting will be resorted to in some localities. I think it would be a famous idea for Uncle Sam to draft 15 or 20 of our Secesh friends here. I was much pleased to hear the reception my likeness rec'd

38. Union troops under Gen. George McClellan were in sight of Richmond during the Peninsula campaign but they were withdrawn.—Burgess, *op. cit.*, v. II, pp. 24-40.

39. On July 1, 1862, President Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 new troops.—*Ibid.*, p. 65.

from you. I have another picture nearly finished, which I intend to send you in my next letter. I shall not tell you what it is but leave you the pleasure of the surprise when you receive it.

(To be continued.)

[July 8, 1862.]

The locusts were very numerous some time ago but have now disappeared. A few weeks ago we had some of the largest hail I ever saw. I picked up one that upon comparison was one third larger than a hens egg. I had before that supposed the stories of such large hail stones exaggerations to say the least. A great many farms are not cultivated in this section for want of working men; mine among the rest. I am farming part of my Aunt's land as it is more convenient to me than my own. The Dr. [Campdoras] has only about 1/3 of his improved land, cropped. So you can see we are feeling the effects of the war already. It would be a great blessing if more darkies would understand their rights and come to our aid. Give my compliments to Miss Gregg. I have no more to write.

Your brother

S. J. R.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[July 13, 1862.]

Dr. Bro.

Your long expected and intensely interesting letter date June [omission] came to hand on the 10 inst. giving us as you may well imagine a pleasure we have not experienced for a long time. It seems you have at last seen and experienced one of those most wonderful and terrific scenes which mortal man is allowed to witness on this Earth. It is a thing which notwithstanding its being accompanied by destruction, has a strange fascination over our minds; and if we cannot see for ourselves every item from those who *have* is received with the greatest avidity. We were startled to hear of your very narrow escape from that mischievous shell. They must be the most fearful instruments of warfare. One of my brother in laws books entitled "Places d'armes a feu" which I read last winter, states that only one ball in from 200 to 500 kills or wounds a man. If this be so, the air must seem alive with harmless bullets. How many rounds did you shoot at Secesh? I suppose not enough to have put one of the traitors "*Hors du combat.*" according to this theory. Did the Band to which you are attached go into action with their musical instruments, or with muskets? My private opinion is that the

music in their cartridge boxes would be the most useful on a battle field like Cross Keys. How did you and the men generally like Gen. Fremont? I always considered him a very good Gen. and first rate on the *negro question*. The retrograde movement of McClellans army imparted a very cheerful expression to the faces of many of our Indianola friends. The Dr. is Surgeon in Col. Ritchies Reg. of Indian Home Guards They are now, I suppose, in the Indn Terr. The Dr dont like camp life as well as he expected, but as he facetiously expresses him self "Feels his patriotism excited in the palms of his hands," on account of the liberal pay. He was home a few weeks ago on a furlough. He said he was home sick the first day after he reached camp which is rather singular, when we consider that he was in the F[renc]h. Naval service for a number of years. We are all pretty well. Weather too dry and corn suffers some. Wheat very good Everything is quiet here now. I am engaged in the peaceful vocation of farming, as usual. A great deal of land is lying idle this season. My field over the cr[EEK], most of the Drs & part of my Aunts, with the rest. I should like very much to see some of the Va. scenery which you mentioned in your letter. The face of the country where we live (on the river bottom) has nothing picturesque about it. The land is level bordered on nearly all sides by scanty timber. It resembles Ill. too much to suit me. But off the bottom the land is rolling and beautiful with timber only in the ravines and along the numerous water courses. As the Homestead Bill has passed you need not lay out a dollar for land excepting the trifle required for surveys &c. and I suppose when you get your discharge you will pay Kan. a visit as you promised. Vacant lands are at present in out of the way places, but this of course will not always remain so. The Dr writes that there is splendid land on the Southern border of this State; in the Shawnee Reserve, also. The place he admired the most is called Eudora.⁴⁰ The Indians of this nation have come in as citizens and the land can be sold. The Dr with the mercurial temperament of a true Frenchman thinks we ought to try and all sell out here, and move to this newly found *Paradise*. My Aunt who some times "builds castles in the air" is some what taken by the idea, but *my* judgment is against. The most of us are too old to begin life anew on the frontier. Well Frank I will say no more about land now; We will have plenty of time to discuss the matter here after.

I think we can understand each others phonetic. I studied from

40. In Douglas county.

a book called the "American Manual of Phonography," by Longley, and I presume it is about the same as Pittmans. Now I propose that we write each other a few lines in each letter in short hand for the purpose of improving ourselves in this art. I would suggest that we write but a little at first as I know that I am "rusty" having hardly looked in my book since the winter of 55 & 56 at which time I took lessons. My Journal has been frequently interspersed with phonetic characters and this I suppose has kept me from forgetting it altogether. I used to know most of the word signs, but can hardly command the quarter of them now. If I send you any word or words which you cannot understand copy it or them and send them back for explanation. Or if I send you any in which you detect errors, point them out to me. I shall also criticise and search for errors in *your* phonographic communications; and in this manner I think we can progress considerably. Do you agree to this? When you write again, if you shall have been in another battle please detail to us all the *minutiae* or better still send a communication to the newspapers and your sisters will send it on to me. No more.

Yours affectionately

Samuel J. Reader.

[To E. D. Rose and Others, Company E, Eighth Kansas
Volunteer Infantry]

[July 27, 1862.]

E D Rose⁴¹ & others

Highly honored and respected friends:

It was with a pleasure that I think you can well imagine that I rec'd the much prized picture of yourselves⁴² the other day which vividly brought to mind our military exploits on the hills at the R. Sch. house. Also mingled with regret that so wide a distance separates us preventing for the present at least the friendly intercourse which as we supporters of the Union, was so pleasant to us all. After you boys left us it seemed that you had taken about all the military spirit with you. The F[remont]. G[uard]s. have not met to drill since. But had a meeting last spring to divide the Co. powder &c. We are consequently without any military organization and our Pro

41. Elisha D. Rose and a number of other Indianola boys enlisted in Company E, Eighth regiment, Volunteer infantry, on September 13, 1861. On May 28, 1862, Company E, along with other companies of the Eighth, embarked on a Missouri river steamer to report at Corinth, Miss.—Andreas, *History of Kansas*, p. 189; Adjutant General's *Report*, Kansas, 1861-1865.

42. E. D. Rose sent to Samuel Reader a picture of eight of the Indianola boys in the Eighth regiment. The boys in the picture were E. D. Rose, Vol. Brown, Lew Bryan, William Wendel, James Hunter, Henry Davidson, Richard Russell and Cy. Grant, all of Co. E, Eighth Kansas Volunteer infantry.

S[lavery]. friends have failed to coöperate with us in this matter as I supposed they would, when they could not secure all the highest offices. The chances of my enlisting are small, as I have 2 families to look after now Dr. C[ampdoras]. being in the army. He is Surgeon in the 20nd Indian Reg. Col. R. of T[opek]a. He dont like his situation very well. Our local news is not important. Mr. Roswell Rose and Mr Pucket⁴³ returned yesterday, from Iowa. I believe they have dissolved partnership with Mr. O. T. Angell with whom they were engaged in showing "War pictures" Rev. A. R. Button has been taking ambrotyp[e]s for the last month or two; but money is too scarce to make it pay very well Squire, our old friend Kasson wrote to the Dr. not long ago informing him that he (Kn) belonged to the 18th Wis Reg. He was near Pittsburg Landing at the time of the terrible battle, but was too sick to take part in it If his reg. is in your neighborhood you have doubtless seen him. The flag which you left flying in town was taken down sometime in the Fall and this summer the pole was chopped down by some body, so we are without an emblem to show our loyalty this year. Our Fourth of July passed without any particular celebration excepting a drunken row or knock down of some kind in the evening. I heard that somebody tried to choke F— and Jim T but do not know whether it is true or not. Indianola looks just as it did when you left with the exception of Mesrs. Ts new Billiard saloon on the corner opposite Puckett's store Dr. A[shmore]. is installed in the Drug Store, and has about all the practice. Mr. Davison was appointed J. P. by the Gov. to fill the vacancy caused by Dr. G[abbey]'s leaving town. James K. on promise of good behavior has come back to Kan. A man named L— and some others at T[opek]a threatened to hang Jim on the Fourth and handled him pretty roughly. There is a rumor that he will take the P. O. at Indianola. How will that suit you Jayhawkers? Mr Clinton has not been complained of yet, as a P. M. I suppose that you have heard that your comrade [C. C.] Leonard has been married to Miss M. Marple.⁴⁴ I think this is about all the news that can be of any interest to you from this quarter. Our weather has been rather too dry this season. Crops are generally good.

(Continued.)

43. The official "Census of 1860," Kansas, v. IX, p. 84, shows a Rosewald Rose, age 27, as a laborer. He was born in Indiana. Henry Puckett, 36, a merchant, was born in Kentucky (p. 85).

44. C. C. Leonard and M. Marple were married June 21, 1862.—Reader's diary.

[July 28, 1862.]

The Indianola Jayhawkers as I call your picture has been examined by a number of persons already, and but very few have failed to recognize their acquaintances in it, at first sight, especially Messrs: Bryan, Rose and Hunter. I perceive that you are now armed with Minie rifles. Your sabre bayonets certainly present a formidable aspect, and look as if they would be exceedingly *unhealthy* for Secesh. As you say, I hope I may some day have the pleasure of seeing you all, and of hearing your adventures in camp & field, which if the war continues we may reasonably suppose will be interspersed with a/c's of many a bloody engagement and should any of my friends who have sent me their pictures perish from the influence of climate or on the field of battle, it will be a mournful consolation for me to know that I still retain their images. I do not know how I can adequately return thanks for the unexpected pleasure you have given me. I must say however that I consider myself under heavy obligations to you all. If it would not be asking too much I should like very much for some of my friends to correspond with me; occasionally at least. I must close wishing you success and safety against the blind and wicked enemies of our Gov. and health to withstand the southern climate. Truly your friend

Respects to all;

Samuel J. Reader.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[August 18, 1862.]

D[ear]. B[rother].

I recd your letter of Aug 3d day before yesterday with great pleasure on learning from its contents of your good health and spirits; and you may well suppose my pleasure was not diminished when I read your opinion on the slave question. I heartily endorse all of your sentiments on this subject, but would rather see the slaves armed *now* than to wait until we are forced into this measure. Old Abe seems opposed to this policy and it dont make me feel very friendly towards him. Now Jim Lane came home a few weeks ago with the understanding that he could arm the negroes and has already enlisted quite a number of them; but we hear that the Pres't will not allow it.⁴⁵ I cannot understand why negro volunteers are refused while whites are to be drafted. I consider myself a phi-

45. In August, 1862, Lane reported that he had authority from Washington to enroll Negro troops, but the War Department denied that such authority had been granted or that the troops would be received if offered.—*Manhattan Express*, September 23, 1862.

lanthropist in regard to African Slaves, still I do not carry this so far as to wish to see men of my own Race dragged from home and business which urgently requires their presence, when these same slaves ought & are willing to fight for their freedom. I wish to see this, the last resort as it is considered, adopted immediately. I shall say no more or you will consider me a confirmed fault finder. You must take care or *you* will be an ultra abolitionist before you are aware of it! I must acknowledge Frank, that an abolitionized Dem. to my mind will do more damage to the Rebels than one of the "dyed in the wool fanatics," because of the greater influence they will have over the minds of the Conservative masses at the North. For example: Your arguments on this subject would have three or four times the weight on our Father's mind, than mine would, as he doubtless considers me infatuated with a dangerous and senseless chimera, as regards Slavery.

You must write me what effect your soundings on the "nigger" question will have on him. We are all well as usual. I was poisoned while gathering grapes on the Kaw River a week or two ago but it is more annoying than dangerous. Eliza got a letter from the Dr. [Campdoras] last week. He was at Humboldt Kan. but they were under marching orders for the Indian Ter. He is still somewhat dissatisfied with his situation partly on a/c. of ill health caused by drinking bad water . . . Our corn crop will be light on a/c of the drouth. Weather dry but pleasant. But little excitement and but little volunteering. Our Secesh friends will likely feel the draft and squirm under it. I cannot make out one word in your phonetic, viz. "Gen. Pope was no [?] to citizens" &c. You placed the word *in* on the line; it should be above. I have nothing more of interest to write at present. Your very affectionate brother

Samuel J. Reader.

[To William Wendel, Company E, Eighth Kansas
Volunteer Infantry]

F'd Wendel
D[ear]. S[ir].

[August 24, 1862.]

I rec'd your interesting letter of Aug. 1 last week with great pleasure and hasten at the first opportunity to answer it. Crops &c. But little military spirit seems infused into the people in this locality. B. T. Burnett and Mr. Hurd of Silver Lake are the only ones who have volunteered so far as I can learn. They say drafting will be resorted to in Kan. If that should be the case it will make some of

our semi-secessionists squirm. Mr. Higg got the situation of asst. P. M. probably to escape the draft but they say it will not save him. I will bet half the men here will claim to be exempt. I saw our friend Jack T escorted over the prairie between two dragoons with drawn revolvers about 3 weeks ago. He was arrested by U. Sam on a charge of trying to organize a Rebel Co. in this neighborhood, but was released in about a week. We had some exciting news from Mo. a few days ago but it appears the Union men are getting the upper hand again. If I should be drafted of which there is some chance, I shall try to be placed in your Co. as a recruit providing your Co. is not full. The worst of it is you are or must be so well disciplined by this time that I should make a very awkward appearance in the ranks at first. How do you boys feel on the "Nigger question?" I am for freeing and arming every slave capable of bearing arms, so you see I am not exactly with the Administration on this subject. I wish to see this policy adopted immediately. I am an abolitionist as you well know, still I do not carry my sympathies for the negro so far as to rather see Whites slaughtered in support of the Union while the Blacks are exempted from such danger, through a blind and foolish prejudice. I say let the traitors be hurt and if a negro insurrection should have that effect encourage the darkies to ride.⁴⁶ I am glad to hear that you have the benefit of the traitors hogs and fruit at last. I have nothing more of interest to write. Write frequently to me and give me all the details of your proceedings. Give my best wishes to all my friends and acquaintances in your Co. and accept a large portion for yourself. With respect I remain your friend

Samuel J. Reader

P. S. Your picture (The "Jayhawkers") still excites much curiosity among the people here and are easily recognized by nearly all.

S. J. R.

[To His Half-Sister Martha]

[August 31, 1862.]

D[ear]. S[ister]. Mat [Martha]

I rec'd Ellas welcome letter of Aug. 9. over 1 week ago and I certainly owe you an apology for not answering you "Sch. girls" sooner. One reason is that the spare moments usually devoted to letter writing have been lately employed by me in arranging our Township business with the C[ounty]. Treasy, Road Overseer &c. Another is that I have been very busy as a farmer lately and a fine

⁴⁶ In 1911 Samuel Reader made this insertion in the copy of the letter written in his diary: "Wrong! Yes, very wrong and inhuman."

shower of rain today has induced me to write at last or I might have delayed longer. We are all in good health. The weather has been very dry and today we have had our first good rain. Corn is very light, potatoes the same. Grass almost as short as it was in /60 I recd a letter from Frank and answered it on the 17 inst. I also got the "Pittsburg [Pa.] Post" last night containing a letter from "A member of the 2ond Va. Reg" which I concluded is from Frank judging from the style. This letter I have read and reread with the greatest interest. I am happy to hear that he enjoys himself so well in the army and still happier to hear of the exemplary life he leads, surrounded as he must be by the many demoralizing influences of Camp life, Still I feel uneasy at hearing of every movement of Gen Popes Army. I read the other day that Gen Sigel has had an encounter with the Rebels. The Dr [Campdoras] is in the Indian Terr'y. He is still very much dissatisfied with Camp life such as he leads. In his last letter he says he is in daily dread of his reg[iment]. getting into a fight, as he has not yet got any surgical instruments and not a great deal of medicine. He says if he were in the Navy he would be satisfied. Not many recruits from this locality. Only one from this Township (Soldier) under the last call. We are all looking for the draft. If I should be drafted I intend to try and take it as best I can although I shall lose by it pecuniarily. My Aunt & Sister dread it immensely, as I am now their only protector. This does not speak well for their patriotism but such is the fact. I hardly stand on the same ground with the Administration yet, (on the "negro question") but I believe all will come out right soon. I heard Jim Lane speak at T[opek] a last Tuesday evening. He expressed my views exactly. He said: We have a great many men who *sympathize* so strongly with the negroes that they wish to keep them in a Band box away from the war while white men are to be killed by thousands &c. Hurrah for Lane! if he is an abolitionist! I send you the picture I promised, and as your expectations are raised with the idea of getting the pictures of Eliza and the children I know you will be much disappointed when you will receive instead the drawing of our little one horse "Whisky-town." I commenced this picture long ago for fear the Weed army might occupy our devoted town again this Summer; but I have been agreeably disappointed for either relying on the expectations of making a combined attack next year or thinking us sufficiently punished, Gens. Gympson and Cocklebur have not marshalled their hosts. This view of Indianola I took from the top of my Aunts

house situated half a mile in a S E[aste]rly direction. Her field joins the Southern boundary line of the town site. Soldier Cr. runs a few hundred yds N[orth] of the buildings and is in the midst of the brush and timber. In the back ground beyond the Cr. the land is bluffy. My qr. S[ec]. lies just a little North of the Western end of the picture. The location of the town was very unfortunate in the first place. Instead of laying it out on the prairie the Mo. proprietors laid it out mostly in the timber and bushes. I think Indianola will never be a city. Allow me now to introduce you to the inhabitants and you will have a very good idea what Indianola is. I shall begin at the W'ern end: The log house with two doors was the first house built in the town. It is inhabited by Sam Bonem & wife, a Union man to *me*, Pro Slavery to the Secesh sympathizers and a very strong Temperance man when *out of cash*. The two story building this side is a grocery kept by Messrs Brown & Cummins. The former with a family. Both Secesh at heart. We will pass the next edifice (a stable,) to the house with windows on both sides of the door. The widow Brown (No relation to the other B.) and family, genuine Unionists live here. She had 2 sons in the Federal Army. The dark complexioned house with one door is a blacksmith shop. The next object is a corn crib. The large building with the end this way is our principal dry goods store kept by the Secesh C. W. H—, deputy or Ass't P. M. to escape the draft. The building this side another blacksmith shop but the man who belonged to it "went up" a short time ago from hard drinking. He frequently had "snakes in his boots" The next house is vacant. It was a drinking saloon last winter. The next with a window over the door was formerly owned by Dr. C[ampdor]as. It was a drinking & gambling saloon last year but is now shut up. The house with one door and one window is occupied by Jim T. and family. Strong Secesh. The building beyond showing a door and window is Mr. Pucketts store and whiskey den. He has been often fined for selling the "critter" without license and is Secesh. The dirty colored house is an ice house which comes next. The house with the closed end this way is the aforesaid Jim T-s billiard saloon and of course men cant play with out liquor in the same room. His brother, Lawyer Jack, was arrested for trying to raise a Rebel Co. here but is now at large. The next building is the pride of the I[ndianola]ites. It is our hotel P. O. favorite billiard saloon; and the best drinkables in town are kept here. Wm. Clinton is proprietor. He is a R. I. secessionist. Is 27 ys old and has a wife who can swear like a pirate;

aged about 60. The house is about 60 ft. square, L. shaped. The next 2 concerns are stables. The next log pen 200 yds this side is vacant. The next also vacant. The white 2 story house is a drug store kept by Dr. A. a secesh and hard drinker. The flag and pole were there last summer but are now both gone. We had an extraordinary large calico flag which soon tore to pieces. The next house is occupied by Mr. Ogee a moderate U. man $\frac{1}{4}$ Indian. Next, Ogee's stable. Three or 4 other houses are not visible on a/c of the brush Dont you want to live in Indianola??

Your affectionate brother

Samuel J. Reader.

P. S. Two Union Germans, Messrs [Wm.] Pruisseit & [Geo.?] Fiederling live in town but their houses are hidden from view in this direction.

S. J. R.

[To Eugene Cayé (or Cagi), Company E, Eighth Kansas Volunteer Infantry]

[September 12, 1862.]

Rec'd letter &c. . . . Several days ago your uncle started for the war very suddenly I advised him to stay at home but he would go Dr. &c. We have had a regular uproar in Indianola last week among the women. Une fille de mauvais vie nommé Jane J— était une locataire avec Billy P— le cordonnier et dix ou douze hommes de Ind. etais ses mignous. Ils promanader avec elle a les buissons &c. toujours presque nuit et jour. The ladies of Ind. viz Mrs. B, B, O, F, S, a girl, and Jim T's wife went to B—'s about a week ago to advise this Jane to go away and not bring disgrace on the people of the town; but she refused positively, whereupon the ladies seized her, et déchirer tout ses vêtements de son corps excepté sa chemise. A Dutchman named H— took the girls part, and Dr. A also took the field and swung his fists defiantly so near some of the ladies heads that they could feel the wind of his chivalrous paws. The girl was wrapped in a blanket and taken away till morning by some of her defenders. Jim T. during the fracas declared that C— kept a worse house than Billy was keeping which saying caused Dr. A. to fire his pistol at Jim but luckily did not hit him Jack T. caused all these ladies to be arrested for an assault and taken before Sqr. D. Jack let Mrs. S. & girl off and Mrs. T. plead guilty The rest of the parties took a change of venue and were tried at T[opek]a avant hier and were most unjustly I think fined \$1. and costs of 40 or \$50. Ind. is still buzzing like a stoned hornets nest

and I dont know how it will end They say there will be no drafting
in K. No more. Very Respy yours S. J. R.

P. S. My best respects to Squire Rose Wm Wendel and all the
rest of the boys from this place S. J. R.

(The Battle of Ind. From our special artist $\frac{1}{2}$ m. from the field.)

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[October 5, 1862.]

D[ear]. B[rother].

Your anxiously looked for letter came to hand the other day relieving us all from much trouble of mind for fear you had been killed or taken prisoner during the terrible battles near Bulls Run; we seeing by the papers that your Division and Brigade had taken a very active part in the engagements. Your peril is very great still, but as you have escaped so many dangers so far we can reasonably hope that your good luck will still attend you. We are in tolerable health only My Aunt has been sick with the bilious fever for some weeks but is now mending Leon had a rather severe attack of the chills . . . not long ago and is still unwell. I don't feel very well myself having taken a bad cold while attending a meeting late at night not long ago for the purpose of suppressing horse stealing.

We hear from the Dr. [Campdoras] about once a week. In his last letter he said he came very near being taken prisoner while on his way in an ambulance from Headquarters to his camp. Col R. is now at T[opek]a. and will probably be court martialed for arresting Col. Judson of the K. 6th. . . . Our weather has been quite wet for some time which interferes with haying some what. The Secesh Dem. and quasi-loyalists of this Township held a primary meeting yesterday with the Rep. to send 4 Delegates to the Co. Convention (Rep.) After considerable bickering it was found we could not amalgamate. The Dem. will hold a meeting tomorrow Indianola has had several disturbances lately. In one case 7 ladies of the town went to a little Dutch shoemaker's and drove a young woman of very questionable reputation from his premises. A number of the girls male sympathizers belonging to a certain and almost the only class in Indianola had these ladies arrested for assault and battery. They took a change of venue and were tried at Topeka and were (unjustly I think) fined \$1. My hopes for the amendment of Ind-a are less & less every day. I am afraid it will never rise from the sink of corruption in which it is now wallowing. I can think of nothing more to write

Your affectionate brother

[To William Wendel, Company E]

W[m]. W[enel].

[October 8, 1862.]

Dr. Fd.

I recd yours of the 30 of Sep with great pleasure and was much interested with your a/c. of your hard marching and operations against the Rebel Bragg From your a/c and from what I have heard from others a soldier must lead a very hard life; and it must be much worse when the soldiers as in your case have no confidence in their Com'g Gen'l. It is a pity that our Gov[ernment]. has to try so many experiments with Gen. officers, so as to find out the good ones.⁴⁷ My brother is luckily well off in this particular. He belongs to the 2ond Va. Reg. in Milroys Brigade and Sigels Division. Both these Generals are considered "tip top" especially the latter who is known in the 2d Va. as "The Flying Dutchman" My brother has been in a number of hard battles; The last one at Bull Run where he was in 5 days fight. He said he didn't expect to get out alive. We were much surprised to hear that H— D— has deserted. I saw his father today; He said he would rather H— had remained even if he had died than to have had him desert. It is likely that H—'s Secesh relatives at Bowling Green persuaded him to leave the Union Army. We have not much news. Ed De Wolf Blondel and Jim Bryan enlisted about one month ago. I thank you for your advice, and will think twice before I join the army, even if I were situated so I could join without damage to our business; not because I do not sympathize with the war, but for fear I might cause a panic when we should come to a fight; as you know that I am naturally adapted for "retreating in good (dis)order." On the evening of the 4th of Sept. last a most terrible battle was fought in Indianola. I was fortunately not in town at the time but I have heard from others who were there, as well as from the official reports. So I think my account may be tolerably reliable and I shall try to give it so a military man like yourself can understand it. It appears that a fancy young lady, to use no harsher term, named Jane J— established her headquarters in Billy P—'s shoemakers shop and deeming her intrenchments secure and knowing she had a force of sympathizing friends within striking distance, she boldly bid defiance to all moral restraint and to the respectable ladies of Ind'a in particular. Mrs. B. B. F. O. and T. (Jims wife) after holding a council of war determined on a vigorous policy, and forthwith set out for little

47. Henry W. Wessels was colonel of the Eighth regiment, Kansas volunteers, until November 1, 1862, when John A. Martin became colonel.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 1861-1865*, p. 257.

Billy's house. Billy can hardly be a true German, for he fled at their approach and took refuge in the Clinton house. The attacking force filed through the gate and by a skillful manoeuvre gained possession of the back door without the loss of a man (or woman rather). Having Jane in their power the ladies offered her terms to the effect that she should march out of town with her baggage and equipage, on condition of never returning. A "Big wholesouled Dutchman" named H— endowed with a truly Teutonic courage, now came on the ground, and Jane being thus reinforced refused the terms of capitulation. To fight or to retreat was now the only alternative, and the former was resolved upon. The ladies seized Jane by the dress and in the scuffle she lost nearly all of her clothing, some of them say by her dress catching on the bed post. She fought like a lion and throwing her arms around H—'s neck defended herself mule-fashion with her feet. The battle was raging at its greatest fury when Dr. A— came charging among them, with the greatest gallantry yet shown by any of the combattants. The happy coming of this son of Chivalry turned the tide of battle in Janes favor which was scarcely counter balanced by a reinforcement on the other side consisting of Mrs. S— and Miss D— a girl living with Mrs S—'t. H— put a blanket around Jane and escorted her out of danger to the rear, as she was rather badly "Cut up." The ladies now evacuated the contested field neither defeated nor as victors. It was a drawn fight. The following is a list of the casualties: Killed—Half the men in town morally and politically. Wounded:—Mrs. F. severely in the arm from the blow of a bottle in the hands of Jane J. H—: Several contusions, not dangerous. Missing—Wm P—; during the engagement. The next day all seven of these ladies were arrested by the "harpies of the law," and four of them were fined \$1. and costs. I tell you well it was a terrible engagement and throws any of Mrs. Clintons "fowts" into the shade. I glory in the ladies' spunk— Our weather has been quite wet for some time past. Money is rather scarce. [Henry] Puckett and Geo. Young have issued shinplasters. Cy. Higg[inbotham], and Miss Button were married Sep 15. E. Plummer and Miss Bowker were married the next Sunday after. We got a letter from Dr C[ampdoras]. yesterday. He is on the way to Carthage Mo. He says the Indians are unmanageable. Col. R— is under arrest for some misdemeanor. Mr. Barnard & wife and family came here about a month ago. There is some dispute among the people whether one of the men in the

front rank of the "Jayhawkers" is or is not Richard Russel. Please send me a list of all of your names in your next. To be continued.

Oct. 9, 1862.

A number of horse thieves took 7 or 8 horses from this neighborhood last Monday night— No more at present

Respy

PS Please give the enclosed note to Mr. Cayé if he has returned from the hospital— My best wishes to squire Rose and all the rest of my friends and acquaintances in your regiment

S. J. Reader.

[To His Half-Sister Ella]

[November 9, 1862.]

D[ear] S[ister] E[lla]:

I recd Marthas letter of Oct. 22, about a week ago containing the interesting a/c of Franks visit to G[reenfield, Pa.] Nothing pleases me more than to hear of his strict morality. More praise is due him in this particular than for his gallant bearing in battle. Well, etc. Weather. Crops. Dr. I weigh more than I ever did before. I am glad you were pleased with the picture of Indianola. It kept up its "good name" last Tues (E[lectio]n day); Two men getting broken heads in a drunken brawl. One a Mr. G. from the "Emerald Isle" was slung-shotted by our friend Jim Thompson His head was badly cut. Lawyer Jack T. was struck with a big rock on the side of his head and nearly killed. Being the T. Trustee it was my duty to act as "Inspector of Election," and I consequently saw but little of the "fun" It was after dark while we were counting the votes that the fracas began. I never heard such yelling before, and as we (the Board) were in a sort of a shanty, we concluded discretion was the better part of valor and retreated into a store with thick log walls so no stray bullets might "pollute the ballot-box" or worse still, some of our heads. The chivalrous Dr. A. threw off his coat and drew 2 revolvers, swearing he would shoot the 2 T-s, and was with difficulty prevented from doing something desperate. When rum-sellers fall out honest men may get justice. If Frank sends any more communications to the papers please send me a copy. No more Excuse hasty & short letter &c &c

P. S. I shall send a picture soon &c.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[November 24, 1862.]

Health. Dr. Crops. Election & row. It was not a political fight but had its origin as usual in whisky &c. Bully for Ind[ian-ol]a. How do you like the removal of Gen. McC'n⁴⁸ For my part I have nothing to say about it. I suppose the Pres't. knows what is best, and since his late Proc. of Emancipation, I have a very high opinion of his ability as a strategist, compared with McC'n. I am looking forward for the 1st of Jan'y with much interest as we shall then see how Emancip'n will work as a war measure. For my part I feel no great anxiety in its efficacy, as I cannot believe the negroes will reject the boon of liberty for the sake of their beloved masters. . . .

S. J. Reader.

[To William Wendel, Company E]

[November 30, 1862.]

D[ear]. F[riend].

I rec'd your welcome and interesting letter of the 10 inst several days ago and now take the first opportunity to answer it. Every body is well around here, I believe— The weather has been dry and pleasant. Corn is light. Times are about as usual. At our election for State & Co offices this Township gave a Rep. maj. for Gov. Congressman &c. M. Parrott got but one vote at this precinct and Dr Tefft who ran for State Sen. got "nary" vote. Benj. Kistler was elected Co. Com'r over Albert Pliley. After dark on election day we had another pleasant little fight in town. The *men* took the lead this time, led on by a little too much of the *ardent*, of which they had been drinking freely. The list of casualties of this fight can be summed up as follows: Two broken heads. Nobody missing; every body present within hearing. The row first began in a scuffle between Lieut Fulton and Mike Green. Then Jim T. struck Green a blow from a slungshot on his head and cut it badly. He then wanted to strike Wm Morgan with it. About this time an unknown person supposed by T-s to be Cyrus K. struck Jack T. on the side of his head with a big rock which laid him up in bed for several days. Dr A[shmore]. drew 2 revolvers and wanted to kill Jim T. and pull down his billiard saloon. The noise was terrific for awhile. Dr. A has good lungs and made noise enough for a dozen

48. On November 7, 1862, McClellan was relieved of the command of the army. Gen. A. E. Burnside succeeded him.—Burgess, *op. cit.*, v. II, pp. 103, 104.

men.⁴⁹ I read in the L[evenworth]. C[onservative]. the other day that your reg. is called the "Grey-hounds" on a/c of your extensive marching I did not wish to know if R. Russell was a jayhawker but if he is on the picture sent to me and called by Sg. Rose "The Ind[ianola]. Jayhawkers" A great many persons disagree as to who the man is kneeling in the front rank between you and Lewis Bryan. Most of people say it is D[ick]. R[ussell]. but some say it is too full in the face for him and resembles J. McNutt. Please explain in your next. Lieut Rooks of your Co was around here a few months ago, I have been told. Was he discharged from service? Dr. C[amp-doras] is now in Ark. His reg. has been in several fights. Mr. Stamp & Mrs. John Marple were married a short time ago. Ezekiel Marple is to go the same way soon. No more of importance Truly your friend

S. J. Reader.

P S My best wishes to all the boys

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[December 15, 1862.]

On the 15 inst. I rec'd a letter from you which on opening I found to my surprise to be entirely phonetic. It took me aback, I suppose as much as the rebels were when Gen. Burnside shelled the CORN-federates at Petersburg. I must say my pleasure equalled my surprise in seeing the proficiency you have already made in your new study.

I am very glad you intend to write hereafter in phonography, &c &c. Correct my phonography & I will do the same with yours. I keep a copy of my letters so when you find a word misspelled or wrong in any way (particular) copy it with the word before it & then point out the error.

I am very well & am gaining in flesh. I now weigh 187 lbs. which is the most I ever weighed before.

We have not heard from the Dr. for several weeks. By last ac-

49. Samuel Reader while reinking his diary in 1911 wrote as follows: "On Monday Nov. 16, 1908, I called on Comrade Samuel Ashmore and saw him for the last time. (He died Tues., Jan. 19, 1909.) He was alone. I said: 'Doc, do you remember the election at Indianola Tuesday, Nov. 4, 1862, when Jim Thompson slungshotted Green and you wanted to pull down the "shanty" as you called it, and Lieut. Fulton tried to capture you, but you backed off swinging your revolver in front of you, and crying out: "Don't you come near me! Don't you dare touch me. You, nor no other G-- d--d man shall put his hand on me!" and Fulton had to give it up. You remember, Doctor?'"

"His black eyes flashed with the fires of 46 years ago, and he laughed aloud at the recalling of that episode. His early life was stormy, the latter quiet and peaceful.

"Wed. Jan. 20, 1909 I assisted with Blue Post 250, G. A. R. at his funeral, thus fulfilling a promise made Wednesday Nov. 26, 1862, to him, after he had fired a pistol in my face to show me that it was loaded, as he cried: 'You can bet \$8 that it's loaded!' (*Requiescat in pace.*)"

counts his command (Blunt's command) has had a splendid battle.⁵⁰ We are anxious to hear from him. Our weather delightful. Our town has been quiet for a few days. Horse stealing has also died out to some extent. I belong to a vigilance committee which looks after the last named gentry. We have already driven two bad characters from this part, & expect to drive more of them off soon or do worse. It is a shame your reg.t is not better supported against the enemy. The Dr being with a large army cant complain of this. I see your love for the union has made you as radical an abolitionist as I could ask. I am also looking with as much interest as you for the first of Jan. 1863. I do not doubt what the result will be. Please explain the following words in your letter: etc etc. I must close for this is the hardest letter I ever tried to write.

Your aff. bro.

Samuel James Reader

[To Dr. M. A. Campdoras, Second Indian Regiment]

[December 21, 1862.]

I recd. your very welcome and interesting letter dated Nov. 29 with great pleasure as we were getting uneasy at your long silence. We all had a good laugh at your a/c. of your expedition under Jewell. I think as you do that we must depend a great deal on the negroes. Abolitionists are making very fast now among the Dem's. My brother is now a very rabid one, and hopes for slave insurrection among the Rebels. Eliza also rec'd a letter from you which came with mine giving an a/c. of your adventures at the battle of Cane Hill. We do not feel very well satisfied in knowing that you run such perilous risks in the Army, although it may be a good remedy for the chills. I had flattered myself that you would not be in the least danger but shall hereafter be uneasy lest "*horses & excitement*" will cause your name to appear on some of the frightful lists of casualties, which we too often see in the Army Reports. If I may be permitted I would suggest you get a horse like our old Fox & then we can have no fears of you in a cavalry charge. I do not think I can be very patriotic for I have not the least desire to enlist at present but may feel more like it after the 1st of Jan. The other day we heard of the disastrous defeat of Burnside at F[redericksbur]g. It may cause the Army to go into Winter quarters. We are all in first rate health. . . . Taxes. Weather &c. Our news not very important. Mr H— got a divorce at the last Court. His mill was burned down by

50. On December 7, 1862, Gen. James G. Blunt won a victory over the confederate forces at the battle of Prairie Grove near Fayetteville, Ark.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*.

accident some time ago. He is in hot pursuit of another wife without devoting any time at all to mourning. Mr. Cummings was run over by a log wagon and had his leg broken a few weeks ago. Mrs. Bl. thinks *son mari* is dead. She heard him rapping at her inside door the other night. Eliza however sees no more chairs rocking themselves or we might get up a spiritual meeting. In my last letter I wrote to you a few weeks date, Nov. 23 I informed you of the marriage of Old man Stamp to Mrs. John Marple but forgot to tell you that he also joins the M. Church which may cause him to repudiate his debts, like some other Christians.

Yours truly

Samuel J. Reader.

[To Albert A. Pliley]

Albert A. Pliley Esqr.

December Last A D 1862.

D. S.

Will you be kind enough to come to the R[ochester]. Sch. H. on Sat evening the 3 day of Jan 63 and see what we can do about getting up a singing sch? I saw Mr. W[hite] last Sund. and he has promised to be at the Sch. H. at the appointed time and will probably consent to lead us as he appears to have a very good understanding of vocal music (?) I have seen Mr Higg[inbotham] and several other musical people and they all seem to take great interest in the movement. Please inform all in your neighborhood whom you think will come especially Charles and Geo. C[arpenter]. and families; and B[en]. K[istler].; and if you should see D'r J[enner]. or Mr. Bowker tell them also. We shall have splendid moonlight if the weather prove favorable and I hope we will have a good time generally. I shall try and be at the Sch. H. at an early hour and have a good fire made. Bring the Hallelujah or any other sacred music.

Resp'tfully

S. J. R.

[To Wm. Wendel, Company E]

[January 4, 1863.]

D F'd.

I rec'd your interesting letter dated Dec 9,/62. sometime ago and for want of anything interesting to write to you have delayed, till &c. I saw your brother and 2 sisters at Singing sch. last night; well of course but forgot to inquire of your father and mother as I didn't then know I should write to you today I suppose they are all well.

No more battles in Ind[ianola]. Dr A. gets "tight" now and then and swears he will "clean T.s shanty out"; "bet \$8 I will" &c. He carries 3 revolvers. U S tax &c. Dr. C[ampdoras]. is still in Ark. He is well. At the battle of Cane Hill he got excited and took part in a cavalry charge. He received two loads of buckshot through his coat and a Rebel struck him on the back of his head and knocked him off his horse, bruising him badly. He managed to crawl to a fence and escaped being run over but his horse was captured by the Secesh. Maybe he will not try the experiment again. Doctors you know should kill with physic and not with arms. Singing &c. Cummings. Religion. Close.

[To Ferdinand Wendel, Company E]

[January 4, 1863.]

Dear F

Recd. How do you like old Abe's proc: for freeing the slaves in the Reb. states? For my part I think it the best move that has been made during the war. You doubtless know I am a dyed in the wool Ab. of the most ultra kind and I consider it a grand step made in behalf of humanity as well as a good war measure. I want to see the day when not a Slave can be found in our Country. If there be such a thing as Divine retribution our nation is receiving its punishment for so long upholding the atrocious system of Human Slavery. These are my sentiments Ferdinand and you must not be offended if we happen to disagree on this subject. As I am a civilian perhaps I have no right to say how the war ought to be carried on. From present appearances Mo. is bound to be a free State soon through gradual emancipation and if our armies can crush the Rebels the Cotton states will be made free through the workings of "sudden emancipation." From last accounts I trust old Abe will keep his back bone straight. Weather &c.

Yours truly

S. J. Reader.

P S Please give the enclosed note to your brother William "The F. G." have "gone up the spout." No military spirit nor flag, exhibited since you left.

Sam Reader.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[January 11, 1863.]

All well as usual. . . . Had letter from the Dr. At the battle of Cane Hill he & his horse got excited (he said,) and took part in a cavalry charge made by our men on a rebel battery. He got in advance of our column & among the rebels, one of whom struck him on the back of the head & knocked him from his horse, bruising him severely. He rec'd two loads of buck shot thro' his coat & lost his horse.⁵¹ I suppose he tho't himself again in some revolutionary campaign in France. Very warm. As I am writing the doors are open & I am in my shirt sleeves. My book is called: "The American Manuel of Phonography" by Longley & Bro's., Cincinnati Ohio. I wrote the word "confederates (being shelled,)" as a pun. If Burnside shelled them I think the rascals of rebels got all the meal. I have great hopes in the slaves giving Uncle Sam a helping hand. A negro Reg't in Kansas has been mustered in.⁵² They say the Indians are splendid on a scout. In the 2'd reg't they are in good part Cherokees. Their language is written in character of their own invention & I believe this is the only Indian so written. The Dr [Campdoras]. is Assistant Surgeon. The Col. . . . is still under arrest for arresting his superior officer.

I suppose you will be about as tired *reading* this, as I am writing it, so I'll close, etc.

51. Doctor Campdoras' letter describing the battle was also copied in the Reader diary. It follows:

"I have had a kind of battle; not much of it; enough to have something to relate when people are tired with the eternal *Campaign du Var*. A little by choice, and some by the will of my *ci-devant* horse, I found myself leading a charge of Cavalry to try to take a battery. Just one of our soldiers ahead of me, and Secesh 'mighty' thick around; So near that I took hold of the gun of one who was going to shoot me, and made him prisoner; when I was struck on the back of the head by another one and knocked off my horse. The road was narrow, between the high bank of a creek and a fence, and a great many of Rebels coming, push'd by our soldiers. I succeeded to crawl under the horses (&) to get near the fence without any harm but some contusions, where I rested between two Secesh; one dead, and another dying,— I have lost my horse (which) ran with them. It was a regular stampede. Never I saw men so scared. Plenty fun, and no harm but to my clothes I got two loads of buckshot in my coat. The fight took place on the road S. of Cane Hill. We followed the enemy for seven or eight miles; quite an exciting race. We lost about 7 or 8 men killed and perhaps 25 wounded. The enemy lost a little more. A good deal of ammunition used without effect. I came back to camp to day, The *fight took place* day before yesterday, etc. etc.—M. A. Campdoras."

52. The colored regiment was mustered into service January 13, 1863.—Wilder's *Annals of Kansas*.

[To His Half-Sister Martha]

[January 17, 1863.]

D[ear] S[ister] Mat.

I reced Ellas long and pleasing letter this week and now attempt an answer to my sch. girl sisters We are all well as usual. I got a phonographic letter from Frank last week dated Jan 1 which I answered immediately. I think he is making fine progress in his new study of shorthand; at any rate he is improving faster than I am, although Camp must be a poor place for study from what I hear.

I hear that many of the boys from this place who have enlisted are learning and becoming adept in things not quite so creditable as short hand and Latin. A large number drink and gamble and some of them have become "light fingered." It is my opinion that these vices are not so prevalent in the Eastern army, but suppose they exist to some extent. "Old King Alcohol" doubtless causes all of this depravity by one means or another and I think should by all means be excluded from the army—etc etc.

Our weather has been delightful nearly all this winter. A few days ago some of our farmers were plowing. The ther. being 60° or 70°, but a few days ago we had a sudden change the ther. running down to 5-° I was caught out in this cold spell of weather and had my ears nose and lips slightly touched by the frost. I think I never suffered more from the cold than on those two days I was out. I had to face a N. E snow storm driven by a very hard wind, which carried the snow and sleet in a nearly horizontal direction. You can have no idea of the piercing nature of our Kansas winds in the Winter, especially on the high prairies where no obstacle presents itself for miles. To day the weather has moderated and it may continue so for a long time. "All quiet along Soldier creek." Our pugnacious friends of Indianola have not shed any blood for a long time. Half a dozen revolvers were however drawn at a Ball at the Clinton house, two weeks ago, but resulted in no casualties. King Alcohol as usual was the instigator. I never go to any of the many Balls, Hops, Fandangoes or whatever you have a mind to call them in this neighborhood. I have no conscientious scruples against dancing but cannot "shake the fantastic toe" myself. I never tried to dance but a few times and am now too old to learn. I took my cousin Fannie [Cole] to several surprise parties this Winter at which we sung (I of course through my flute); played chess and amused ourselves as best we could. The young folks talk of making a de-

scent in force upon the Doctor's house some of these evenings. We have had a singing school for several weeks. I for the first time try to sing base. I succeed indifferently well, my voice is not quite so harsh and cracked as I had supposed. We have not heard from the Dr. for 3 weeks. He is Assistant Surgeon of the 20nd Indian Reg't. 1st Division of the Army of the Frontier, Gen. Blunt commanding. He likes the service very well now. He was rash enough to take part in a cavalry charge at *Cane Hill*. . . . We hope the Dr. will take better care of himself in the future. Some of our neighbors who are in Blunt's army wrote that the Dr. was wild with excitement at the battle. He took off his hat and swinging it around his head, shouted: "*Hurra boys! let us clean them out!*" and spurred to the front of the attacking column.

Please send the enclosed note to brother Frank. I will allow you to read it as a return for the favor. Ella wishes to know whom F[rank]. R[eaders]. C[ampdoras]. resembles. He is not so much like his father as Leon in personal appearance. Just fancy a child just able to sit alone with intensely black eyes dark hair and a good natured expression when satisfied and you have him. I never have anything to do with him as he is so young. I am afraid I might drop him were I to take him up. Besides they all laugh at my awkward manner of holding a little one, and that also deters me. It is rather late. I will close. Love & respects to all

Your aff. bro.

S. J. R.

P. S. Will you be kind enough to present my compliments to Miss G. Be sure you do not fail, if you please, and you will greatly oblige, your bro.

[To E. D. Rose, Company E]

Squire R.

[January 19, 1863.]

D. F.

As it is snowing today I improve the opportunity &c Well excepting Mrs. De W[olf]. Mrs. Bollote is in the neighborhood "All quiet along Soldier" &c (See Mats letter) It appears that Kaw Charley got drunk and was abused by big Aleck Nadox [Nadeau], Lew Ogee Cy. Higg[inbotham], and some others took Charley's part and came near having a big row. Otherwise the Ball is said to have been a splendid affair; about 30 couples present. The old Lady [Clinton] towards morning made the discovery that "Her Wm" was missing. She immediately commenced a vigilant search

fearing (rightly, perhaps) his affections were being bestowed on some object other than herself. After exhausting all her strategy in vain she gave up the search and as she could not enjoy the Ball herself, she determined no one else should; so after turning off the lamps and sprinkling a little oil over the ladies dresses, she succeeded. I was not there, as I do not dance. Dr. A[shmore]. & Jim T. are now "as thick as 3 in a bed" A few weeks ago the Doc. threatened to shoot Jim and pull down the "shanty" every time he got tight. I don't know how long the peace will last. Here is another item of news: Our respected friend J. M. H.— was married to Mrs. (widow) Wm. M—. 8 or 9 days ago. He got his divorce last Nov. The old man spent no time in mourning. Wm E B[owker]. rec'd a Captains com. from Washington a week or two ago without his knowledge, To serve in 4 Indian Reg. & to start to L[eavenworth]. C[ity]. yesterday. Weather &c. We have not heard from the Dr. Campdoras (See Mats letter & Drs) I remain as ever truly your friend.

P S. One word about H— D—. His father told me not long ago that H—. did not desert. That he stopped with his friends at B[owling]. G[reen]. and staid all night. That when he went to camp the next morning he found it impossible to join it as it had started at 3 o'clock. A short time afterwards he was caught by Rebel scouts and has been paroled. He also said H—. had written to his Co. several times but could get no answer. Did any of his letters reach your camp? It is the general opinion here that he deserted but D—. denies it. I should like to hear from you often.

S. J. R. &c.

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[February 13, 1863.]

The Dr. [Campdoras] is in Arkansas. He said he intended to stay in the army till the end of the war, if possible as he says we are fighting for a Principle. But he says our battles in Ark. have been greatly exaggerated by our correspondents, etc.

The Legislature is doing little or nothing. Taxes are very high & the price of land is low. The premium on gold is now truly alarming. It looks like financial ruin may overtake us. . . .

Our whisky friends of Indianola are all noisy for peace by any and all means. Conway of Kansas does not represent the people here as our spokesman. He is the first Abolitionist that has asked for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, in Congress. . . .

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[March 19, 1863.]

. . . I have written my Journal all in phonography since I wrote to you last. I like it very much, now. I can read & write it better every day. B. & Bob here for dinner. P. M. Bob left. . . . I can get a position as Lieutenant if I wish, he says. (But he advised me to stay home.)

[To His Half-Brother Frank]

[March 22, 1863.]

Some of the Copperheads say they will not be peaceably drafted, as *they* didnt bring on the war etc. . . . A Copperhead organ called *The Enquirer* was cleaned out in L[eavenworth]. City one mo. ago. Free Kansas would not permit treason in any shape to rear its head. I am sorry father still clings to the Dem. party; but as in every thing else, there is a possibility of *our* being wrong, & *he* in the right. But I hope he does not endorse the sentiments of such men as Vallandigham. I think if *you* cant convert him, it would be useless for *me* to try as I suppose he looks upon me as a hot-headed fanatic. Try your best Frank (etc. etc.) Tell Father if slavery receives its death blow in this war, I will most likely join the Dem. party, &c. . . .

Baseball in Kansas, 1867-1940

HAROLD C. EVANS

THE spring of 1867 was one of tremendous activity in Kansas. Workmen were busily constructing the first unit of the state capitol at Topeka. Lawrence was looking forward to the successful completion of the first year of study at the new State University. Salina was awaiting the arrival of the first train over the Kansas Pacific and Joseph G. McCoy was building a great cattle market at Abilene. Federal commissioners were negotiating with the Indians for a peace treaty, soon to be signed at Medicine Lodge. Susan B. Anthony was preparing to invade the state in behalf of female suffrage. In the midst of all this Leavenworth, the restless metropolis on the Missouri river, found time for play. The Frontier Baseball Club was chartered early in the year¹ and the crack of the bat meeting the horsehide sphere was added to the hum of industry in the big town on the river bluffs.

The Frontiers were sponsored by a group of Pioneer City business and professional leaders, most of whom were veterans of the Civil War. Leader in the movement was Col. Thomas Moonlight, soldier, statesman and diplomat, who had commanded the Eleventh Kansas regiment in the late conflict and returned to Leavenworth with a desire to promote the welfare of the city by providing wholesome recreation for its young men. A. A. Hyde, a young bank clerk who later founded the Mentholatum company in Wichita, signed as one of the incorporators. Personnel records of the Frontiers have not been preserved and accounts of their activities are meager. It is probable that they resorted to playing "Work-up" or choosing up sides until some rival nines were organized. But it was not long until the baseball fever had gripped Leavenworth and was spreading rapidly down the Missouri river and westward up the valley of the Kansas.

"Lawrence has got it, Leavenworth's got it, Topeka's got it, we've all got it," the *Topeka Weekly Leader* reported on August 22. "We now boast three baseball clubs in Topeka. The Shawnees, the Prairie club (whilom Old Maids), and the Capitol." Lawrence had its Kaw Valleys and its Universitys; Leavenworth had a rival to provide local competition for the Frontiers. "The Prairies

1. "Corporations," charter copybooks, Kansas, v. 1, p. 281. The charter was filed January 29, 1867.

played a friendly match game with the Shawnees last Friday and were 'scooped,' " continued the *Weekly Leader*. "They played again Tuesday, and were again 'scooped.' It is their intention to wait now till the Capitols (composed of boys under 15) bust the Shawnees, as they will, and then propose to Shawnee to join them in a friendly game of pins—believing that both the Shawnees and themselves are better adapted to that game. . . ." These scornful remarks probably were prompted by the lack of success the Topeka clubs had achieved in inter-city competition, the Shawnees having been soundly beaten by Lawrence's Kaw Valleys, 52 to 15.

Topeka made a social event out of the visit by the Lawrence club. The victorious Kaw Valleys were entertained lavishly at the Gordon house and departed by train with the Topeka Brass Band blaring out a friendly farewell. Traditional animosities engendered by baseball rivalry had not become established but it was not many years until baseball was provoking a lot of vitriolic repartee in rival newspapers.

The Shawnees regained some prestige for the capital city by winning from the Universitys at Lawrence, 96 to 57.² Scores like this were not uncommon; on the contrary they were the usual thing in those days. Nearly every rule in baseball favored the batter over the pitcher. In the first place the rules decreed that the ball should be "pitched, not thrown." This restricted pitching to an underhand delivery much like that used in softball today. The base on balls was unknown. It was the batter's privilege to stand and let the good ones go by as well as the bad ones. He didn't need to hit at the ball until he felt like it. Another rule, seldom strictly enforced, allowed the batter to call for a high or a low pitch.

But three strikes were out, and to make things a trifle easier for the defense a third strike caught on first bounce was out as well as a foul caught on the bounce. The first bounce rule was not abolished until 1880. Pitchers were emancipated three years later when an amendment permitted overhand and free arm pitching. The base on balls developed during this period of enlightenment. In 1884 six balls entitled the batter to free passage to first base, but in 1887 they gave the batter an extra strike to balance matters after reducing the number of balls to five. The present rulings, "three strikes and out" and "four balls, take a base" came to stay in 1889.³

Baseball as a Kansas sport was officially recognized by the state fair association in 1867 when a silver baseball was awarded to the

2. Topeka *Weekly Leader*, September 5, 1867.

3. Irwin, Will, "Baseball," *Collier's*, May 15, 1909.

winners of the state championship. The state fair was held at Lawrence late in September and the Kaw Valleys kept the trophy at home by winning the title match from the Universitys on the last day of the fair.⁴ The silver ball now rests in the Kansas State Historical Society's vault.

Baseball activity was renewed with zeal in the spring of 1868. Intense rivalry had developed between the Frontiers and the Lawrence Kaw Valleys. These clubs met three times during the season and the Lawrence boys won every game, establishing a claim to the state championship.⁵ Lawrence seethed with civic pride and the club was reorganized in 1869 with a list of directors that included such prominent citizens as Dudley C. Haskell, who later served as congressman from the second district and in whose honor Haskell Institute was named.

Again it was a battle between the Kaw Valleys and the Frontiers. Despite its early start Leavenworth was forced to admit at the end of the campaign that Lawrence had definitely established itself as baseball capital of the Sunflower state. Possibly the Frontiers missed the guiding hand of Colonel Moonlight, who had been elected secretary of state and deserted Leavenworth for an office in Topeka. The game played between the Frontiers and the Kaw Valleys on September 10 was heralded as the championship struggle and the Valleys came in under the wire, 29 to 22.⁶

Baseball gossip occupied considerable space in Kansas newspapers the following spring. The Topeka *Daily Kansas State Record* announced on April 8, 1870, that an attempt would be made to bring the Cincinnati Red Stockings to Topeka for a game with a picked team of Kansans. The Red Stockings, organized in 1867, were the first professional club in the United States. Apparently this ambitious plan never materialized. Of more importance to Kansas baseball than this idle rumor was the organization of the Topeka Westerns, who were destined to become famous in Kansas baseball circles before long.

Topeka's alert theatrical agent, a gentleman named O. Sackett, was an opportunist who realized the possibilities of baseball as a crowd attraction. When the deal for the Red Stockings fell through he immediately boarded a train for Rockford, Ill. The Forest Citys of Rockford were the only club in the land that could compete on fairly even terms with the Cincinnati boys and Sackett figured they

4. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, September 28, 1867.

5. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1868.

6. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1869.

would be an acceptable substitute. On May 5, 1870, the Topeka *Kansas Daily Commonwealth* announced that the Forest City club had been engaged to meet the state champion Kaw Valleys at the Topeka fairgrounds, May 11.

In the Forest City lineup was A. G. Spalding, whose name later appeared on thousands of baseballs after he became the head of the great sporting goods house that bears his name. Spalding was one of the first great pitchers. In 1863 a Union soldier returning invalided to Rockford from the war found the local boys batting a ball around in aimless fashion. He told them he knew a better sport that he had learned in the army and taught them baseball. Spalding was one of his aptest pupils. The Forest Citys were soon organized and they were touring the country before many years had elapsed.⁷

Fifteen hundred persons crowded about the diamond at the Topeka fairground on that May afternoon long ago. In the visiting lineup were: Spalding, Hastings, Doyle, Addy, Foley, Barnes, Stires, Simmons and Barstow. For the Kaw Valleys the lineup included: Haskell, Whitman, Lane, Longfellow, White, Lefevre, Campbell, Griffin and Sears. It was announced that a picked nine of Kansas players would oppose Forest City the next afternoon.

All things considered, the Kaws did not fare badly. The final audit showed a score of 41 to 6 for the Forest Citys. Sam Lakin, Topeka bank employee, was the umpire and each team provided its own score keeper, as the double check system was employed in those days. The "picked nine" was not so fortunate. This time the men from Illinois turned on the power and crushed the Kansans, 97 to 12. The baseball "tournament" was a financial success, however. Promoter Sackett made a neat profit and the elite of the city danced at Union hall the night of May 11, honoring the visiting athletes in a "Baseball Promenade."⁸

After this disaster Kansas teams confined their activities to intra-state competition for several years. Ottawa organized a team called the Nasbys and the boys from the Marais des Cygnes were off to an auspicious start with a 28 to 25 victory over Lawrence's Kaw Valleys. The Kaws evened it up a few weeks later and captured the third game, 21 to 16, to retain the state title.⁹

In 1871 Emporia introduced its Jayhawkers and a rival Lyon county team was organized at Americus, Emporia's old county seat

7. Irwin, Will, *loc. cit.*, May 8, 15, June 12, 1909.

8. Topeka *Kansas Daily Commonwealth*, May 12, 13, 1870; *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, May 12, 13, 1870.

9. *Ottawa Journal*, May 5, June 9, 1870.

rival. On July 14 the *Emporia News* announced an impending clash between the Jayhawkers and the Americus nine. "Come and witness the game, ye lovers of innocent and manly sports," urged the *News*. The July 21 edition of the newspaper published an account of this game, which the Emporians won, 95 to 30.

The Leavenworth Unions, successors to the Frontiers, celebrated the Fourth of July at Lawrence by winning a thrilling game from the Kaw Valley team, 24 to 22.¹⁰ It was a great day in Leavenworth baseball history and the jubilant fans claimed that the state championship had been returned to the Pioneer City. But the Leavenworth enthusiasts had reckoned without the Topeka Westerns who were sweeping through their opposition like a combination harvester and thresher through ripe wheat. The Topekans silenced Leavenworth and Lawrence by resounding victories over the Unions and the Kaw Valleys and mid-August found their claim to baseball supremacy almost unchallenged. They accepted an invitation from the Emporia Jayhawkers with some condescension.

The Jayhawkers had been playing the game for only two months when they met the mighty Westerns on the Emporia diamond. Topeka gamblers in the Western entourage were offering two to one odds that their team would double the score on the Emporia novices. There were many takers. Some Topekans had to borrow railroad fare to get out of town after the game when the surprising Jayhawkers thumped the Westerns, 31 to 27. "The Topeka boys were too confident, and the Emporia boys kept cool," wrote the *News* correspondent.¹¹ It was the Westerns' only defeat of the season, but the *News* claimed on September 15 that the Westerns had dodged a return game with the Emporians. "The Topeka Westerns had better emigrate to Greeley," sneered the *News*. The Jayhawkers went to meet the Topeka club on its own grounds September 13, but the latter declined to play. They were so badly demoralized by their little game in Emporia some time before, the *News* continued, "that they have not got their spirits up since."¹²

Nevertheless, the Westerns dominated the field for the next eight or ten years. In the starting lineup in 1871 Jim McFarland was captain-pitcher, Glenney was behind the bat. Evarts, Morris and Gilmore composed the outfield. Barnes was at first base; Morgan, second base; Ritchie, short stop and Moore, third base. The Rix brothers appeared frequently in the lineup, one as pitcher, the other

10. Leavenworth *Daily Times*, July 6, 1871.

11. *Emporia News*, August 18, 1871.

12. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1871.

in the outfield. The Emporia giant killers on that memorable August afternoon in 1871 were: Hawkins, Lord and Cochran, outfielders; Randolph, first base; Willard, second base; Simms, short stop; Wales, third base; Halleck, pitcher; Rollins, catcher.¹³ During the three-year period, 1874-1876, the Westerns met defeat but once. After the club had returned to the home stand from a road trip "down the Gulf Road" in August, 1876, the Ottawa Red Stockings took their measure by a score of 10 to 7.¹⁴ Fort Scott, Paola, LaCygne, Mound City and Pleasanton were among the teams that fell before the Westerns during their southeast Kansas invasion.

Baseball was moving westward and many of the smaller towns had taken up the game. Ottawa met Williamsburg and Lyndon. Emporia's schedule included games with Cottonwood Falls and Council Grove. Manhattan, Junction City, the Fort Riley soldiers, Abilene and Salina were competing out on the Union Pacific lines. Reports from along the Santa Fe indicated that Newton, Wichita and Hutchinson were rivals on the diamond.

But the depressions, droughts and grasshopper invasions of the 1870's apparently sapped Kansas baseball enthusiasm to a considerable degree. There was little advance dope in the press when spring came 'round in 1880 and a Topeka newspaper queried, "What is the matter with Atchison, Lawrence and Leavenworth in regard to baseball?" Atchison, it recalled, had never had a good club, but what then had become of Manhattan, Wichita and Lyndon?¹⁵

The Westerns, with some new players in their lineup, were hard at work and Ottawa's Red Stockings were ready for another season. But, aside from the renewed Ottawa-Topeka rivalry and periodical visits by touring clubs from Kansas City and Dubuque, Iowa, there was little activity during the ensuing summer months. History was made again on April 17, however, when the first inter-collegiate baseball game was played at Lawrence between the University nine and the Washburn team.

For several years there had been desultory activity on Kansas college diamonds. Back in 1867, it will be recalled, the University team played matches with the Topeka Shawnees and the Lawrence Kaw Valleys. There is no record of games played by this team in a *Scores* pamphlet published by the Kansas University Athletic Association in January, 1932. Six baseball letters were awarded in 1874, the roster of K-men reveals, but the first game recorded in

13. *Ibid.*, August 18, 1871.

14. *The Triumph*, Ottawa, September 1, 1876.

15. *The Topeka Daily Capital*, April 28, 1880.

this pamphlet is a successful foray against the town team in 1879.

Washburn organized a team in 1880, played a practice game with the Westerns, in which the collegians were soundly drubbed and then invaded Lawrence for the match with K. U. Details of the game have not been recorded. The rival Lawrence newspaper men who covered the contest confined their remarks to personalities not related to the game. The *Topeka Capital* of April 19 published the score with little comment. It was 29 to 22 in favor of Washburn. The University nine came to Topeka for a return game four weeks later and tasted the sweets of revenge. The score of this game was 22 to 10, K. U.¹⁶

Washburn's team included DeHart, Elliot, Holliday, Ballinger, Tefft, Ross, Fowler, Heaton, and Quail. The University has no record of the 1880 baseball team, but the roster of K-men includes the names of seven men who won baseball letters that year, including: E. C. Little, M. Lovelace, D. J. Rankin, C. F. Scott, W. C. Spangler, R. E. Twitchell and S. T. Williams. Both Little and Scott served terms in congress after leaving the university.

College athletics did not develop rapidly until the 1890's, but Baker University had a baseball team as early as 1882 and played a game with K. U. that spring, according to Thomas A. Evans, alumni secretary at Baker. Records at Kansas University give the score of a meeting between the Jayhawks and the Methodists in 1886. It was a 6-6 tie.¹⁷ Baker has a record of the tie game, says Evans, but the Baldwin historians give the year as 1885 and the score as 16-16. Baseball games between Baker, K. U. and Washburn were regularly scheduled after 1888. Before the end of the century Emporia Normal, Ottawa, Kansas State, St. Mary's, Bethany and the College of Emporia were playing the game.

Professional baseball gained a foothold during the boom of the middle 1880's. The Topeka Westerns and their successors the Browns were semi-professional clubs during this period. Atchison, Kansas City and Leavenworth were hiring players and organized league baseball appeared in 1886 when Topeka and Leavenworth took franchises in the Western League, a six-club circuit that also included Denver, Leadville, Lincoln and St. Joseph.¹⁸ The Kansas teams did not fare well their first season. Anxious to advertise their booming city, several Topeka financiers decided to buy a club that would put Topeka on the baseball map in embossed capitals.

16. *The Commonwealth*, Topeka, May 16, 1880.

17. *The University Courier*, Lawrence, April 30, 1886.

18. *The Topeka Daily Capital*, June 10, 1886.

The result was the collection of the highest priced and ablest crew of diamond athletes that ever represented a Kansas city. Goldsby's Golden Giants, they were called. What a ball club!

Early in 1887 the Western League was enlarged to an eight-club circuit, and by mid-season there were ten teams in the race. Leadville had dropped out but Kansas City, Hastings and Omaha were added. Emporia and Wichita came into the fold when the season was half finished but never caught up with the pack. Emporia finished ninth and Wichita last. But the Golden Giants of Manager Goldsby breezed in to win the pennant about twenty games ahead of Lincoln, the nearest contender. The team finished with a percentage of nearly .800. Six Giants boasted batting averages above the .400 mark. The great "Bugs" Holliday delighted the fans at Kenwood park with his home runs, seventeen for the season. These abnormal batting averages may be partially explained by the then prevailing rule crediting the batter with a hit and a time at bat for each base on balls. Under the present rules a base on balls does not count as a time at bat.¹⁹

But deflated real-estate values incidental to the bursting boom bubble depleted the Topeka war chest and the Giants were considered too expensive a luxury for another season. Most of the talented members of that club, which has become almost a legend in Topeka, went back to the major leagues. The Western League was gradually diminished as hard-pressed club owners gave up their franchises during the lean years and only four clubs remained in 1893, Topeka, Kansas City, Lawrence and St. Joseph. There was some brisk activity on college fields, however, and Junction City, Abilene, Manhattan and Enterprise formed a short-lived league in 1895. The Missouri Valley League, training school for numerous major leaguers in later years, was organized about this time with representatives in several southeast Kansas towns.

The Leavenworth Maroons, a fast semi-professional club, entered the picture in 1895 when they outdistanced all opposition. Junction City had a strong team that included "Dummy" Taylor, deaf-mute pitcher and outfielder, who played with the New York Giants in the early 1900's. These towns, Junction City and Leavenworth, became baseball rivals in 1896. But interest lagged in Leavenworth and the Maroons were moved to Topeka in June.²⁰ Topeka organized an athletic association and built a new ball park, which

19. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1934.

20. *The Topeka State Journal*, June 22, 1896.

stood on East Fifteenth street for many years. A Kansas State League was organized to include Junction City, Topeka, Emporia and Minneapolis. The Maroons performed well in their first Topeka appearance but when the games were over the club manager and the receipts vanished. Some of the Maroons had received no pay for weeks and had to walk to town from the ball park.²¹

The Kansas State League soon disbanded, but the Maroons continued as the Topeka Blues and played independently with such worthy rivals as Atchison, Independence, Iola, Coffeyville and Junction City. Abilene had a fast club and was winning games from Salina, Emporia, Chapman, Wichita and Fort Riley. On August 8, 1896, the *Daily Reflector* pointed with pride to Abilene's record of ten wins in thirteen starts. Unfortunately this boast was followed by successive defeats by Salina and Wichita.

The Haskell Indians toured the state during the summer of 1896 and 1897. The State League appeared again in 1897 with Atchison, Emporia, Junction City and Topeka. Abilene and Salina replaced Emporia and Junction City in 1898. Abilene threatened to run away with the race in the early games, but the club slumped, the war distracted public attention, and the team was disbanded in June.²²

Southeast Kansas was becoming a hotbed of baseball in the early 1900's. The Missouri Valley League produced Warren Seabough and Johnny Kane of Pittsburg, who were taken up by the Chicago Cubs. In 1903 the Missouri Valley circuit included Fort Scott, Joplin, Nevada, Leavenworth, Iola, Jefferson City, Sedalia and Pittsburg. The Western Association, which had been operating in Iowa and Illinois, shifted its sphere of activity to the southwest in 1905 and opened as an eight-club loop with Joplin, Oklahoma City, Guthrie, Leavenworth, Sedalia, Wichita, Springfield and Topeka.

Wichita's entry was the city's first baseball venture since 1887. Will Kimmel was the club owner and Jack Holland was imported from Little Rock, Ark., to manage the team. The "Jabbers" opened the season at the home grounds in Island park with a 3 to 2 defeat by Topeka. Ernie Quigley was at short stop for the visitors. The umpire was Brick Owens, who, like Quigley, became a famous major league umpire in later years. Owens' Wichita debut was inauspicious, though exciting. Brick left the park with enraged fans demanding his blood because he had called a Wichita runner

21. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1896.

22. *Abilene Daily Reflector*, June 13, 1898.

out for failure to touch first and second bases.²³ Wichita won the pennant that year, Topeka was seventh.²⁴

Richard G. Cooley, a former Detroit American League outfielder, piloted Topeka to a Western Association pennant in 1906. Hutchinson had replaced Guthrie, and Webb City, Mo., succeeded Sedalia in the standings.²⁵ Leavenworth withdrew in 1908 and was replaced by Enid, Okla. Jack Holland won another pennant for Wichita in 1907²⁶ and it was Cooley's turn to bring the flag to the capital city in 1908.²⁷ While the "Jimson League," as Jay House, Topeka *Capital* columnist, called the W. A. circuit, provided lively summer entertainment for thousands of citizens in Kansas, Missouri and Oklahoma, it was definitely a "bush league." The Class A Western League had been operating with six clubs, including Denver, Omaha, Des Moines, Sioux City, Lincoln and St. Joseph. Wichita and Topeka were added to this more select circle in 1909.

The advent of Class A minor league baseball marks Kansas' golden age in the professional game. In 1910 twenty-five cities and towns were sponsoring teams in organized baseball. Wichita and Topeka were well established in the Western League. The Kansas State League, revived as a Class D organization, included McPherson, Hutchinson, Lyons, Arkansas City, Great Bend, Newton, Wellington and the Twin Cities club, sponsored jointly by Strong City and Cottonwood Falls. The Central Kansas League, also of Class D rating, included Salina, Ellsworth, Abilene, Manhattan, Junction City, Clay Center, Beloit and Concordia. Larned later assumed the Twin Cities franchise in the State League.²⁸

The Eastern Kansas League opened its first campaign in 1910 with Seneca, Sabetha, Hiawatha, Holton, Horton and Marysville at the starting post.²⁹ Down in the old W. A., Guthrie encountered financial difficulties before the end of the summer and the club was moved to Independence. In the Central Kansas League the Beloit club was moved to Chapman, probably the smallest Kansas town that ever sponsored a team in organized baseball.³⁰

Kansas was ably represented in the major leagues at this time. Walter Johnson and Joe Wood, two of the greatest speed ball

23. The *Wichita Daily Eagle*, May 9, 1905.

24. *Ibid.*, September 19, 1905.

25. The *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 24, 1906.

26. *Ibid.*, September 20, 1907.

27. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1908.

28. *Ibid.*, May 22, 1910.

29. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1910.

30. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1910.

pitchers of all time, were causing distress to American League batters. Wood, who came from Ness City by way of the Hutchinson Western Association club, was with the Boston Red Sox. Johnson, who was born on a farm near Humboldt, was with the Washington Senators. Art Griggs of Topeka was an infielder with the St. Louis Browns.

For some obscure reason Johnson was known as the "Big Train." During the major portion of his career he maintained a winter home near Coffeyville and Grantland Rice called him the "Coffeyville Express." Unfortunately the Senators were one of the weaker clubs during most of Johnson's career. "Washington—first in war, first in peace and last in the American League," was a popular vaudeville laugh line for years. But the club finally won a pennant in 1924 and Johnson, after nearly twenty years, had his first World Series opportunity against the late John McGraw's New York Giants. Beaten in his first two efforts, Johnson went into the seventh and deciding game as a relief pitcher in the ninth inning and held the New York club scoreless until his teammates squeezed out a run in the twelfth to win the game and series.³¹

In 1925 the Senators won the American League flag again and faced the Pittsburgh Pirates in the series. Johnson was in great form, allowing but one run in eighteen innings to win his first two starts. Handicapped by a leg injury, he went down to defeat in the deciding game, which was played in a pouring rain.³² The big Kansan retired from active competition in 1927, ending his baseball career as manager of the Cleveland Indians in 1936. He sold his Coffeyville home after the death of his wife in 1930 and has since lived in Maryland, where he is now the Republican nominee for congress from Maryland's Sixth district.

Joe Wood, known as "Smoky Joe" because of his dazzling fast ball, broke into organized baseball with the Hutchinson Western Association club in 1907 at the age of eighteen. His rise was rapid. In 1912 he was the mainstay of the Boston Red Sox pitching staff. The Red Sox won the American League pennant and met the New York Giants in the World Series. Wood opposed Big Jeff Tesreau, Giant ace, in the first game and won, 4 to 3. With three days rest he came back and stopped the Giants again, 3 to 1. His third appearance in a game which would have given his team the series, was met by a Giant bombardment that sent him to the club house

31. "Big Chief Johnson of the Indians," *The Literary Digest*, June 24, 1933; *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 11, 1924.

32. *The Topeka Daily Capital*, October 16, 1925.

in the first inning. But Joe came back the next day as a relief pitcher in the eighth inning and held the Giants until his comrades broke a tie to win in the tenth.³³ Wood now coaches baseball at Yale.

A contemporary of Wood and Johnson was Fred Clarke, an outfielder with a great batting eye and tremendous speed on the bases. Clarke played twenty-one years of major league baseball and was manager of the Pittsburg Pirates for a number of years. Since his retirement he has lived near Udall.³⁴

Kansas clergymen and other advocates of strict Sabbath observance conducted a stout fight against Sunday baseball but to little avail. A Kansas statute provided that persons "convicted of horse-racing, cockfighting or playing cards or games of any kind on Sunday shall be guilty of a misdemeanor." The strict enforcement crowd invoked this statute against Ernest Prather who was arrested in Johnson county on July 14, 1907, for promoting a baseball game on the Sabbath. He was convicted in the district court but the case was appealed and the decision was reversed by the Supreme Court of Kansas.³⁵

Justice Silas Porter, in presenting the opinion of the court, said in part, "This construction would make the statute apply to every game—to authors, whist, chess, checkers, backgammon and cribbage, even when played within the privacy of one's home, and to croquet, basketball, tennis and golf, whether played in public or on private grounds."³⁶ Subsequent efforts to enact legislation specifically prohibiting Sunday baseball have been unsuccessful. A law passed in 1907, however, prohibits baseball games on Memorial Day.

With the approval of the supreme court Sunday baseball became so well established that it was countenanced in nearly every city in the state. A Minneapolis minister even conducted religious services at the ball park. Jay House observed that the umpire's failure to come forward and ask forgiveness for his sins defeated the essential purpose of this innovation.³⁷

House, a popular columnist, was one of Kansas' cleverest baseball writers. He perfected a style somewhat similar to that of Ring Lardner, who loved to magnify the incidentals of the game. The weather was one of House's favorite themes. One game in the spring of 1910 was played on what he described as

33. *Ibid.*, October 9, 12, 16, 17, 1912.

34. *Ibid.*, March 24, 1940.

35. *State v. Prather*, 79 Kan. 513-520.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *The Topeka Daily Capital*, August 31, 1909.

the worst day for baseball ever seen in this latitude. It was not only nipping cold, but the wind blew fifty miles an hour every minute of the game. Half the time the players were obscured from the vision of the meager handful of fans in the stands by swirling clouds of dust. . . . Baseball was incidental. The players spent most of their time wiping dust from their eyes. Had there been no wind it would have been a fine day for skating.³⁸

Baseball was a major sport in Kansas college circles during the golden age that preceded the World War. Baker, Washburn, Bethany, Emporia Teachers, Western Kansas Normal, College of Emporia, Friends, Fairmount, Ottawa, St. Mary's, Kansas Wesleyan, Southwestern, Haskell, Kansas State and Kansas University had teams on the diamond. Lonberg of Washburn, Hal Harlan of K. U., Mason of Baker, Baird of Kansas State and Collins of St. Mary's were a quintet of pitchers that would have graced any minor league staff.

Harlan and Lonberg met in one of the most sensational pitching encounters in college history one May afternoon back in 1908. It was the third meeting of the season for K. U. and Washburn. The Jayhawkers had beaten Lonberg at Lawrence. Washburn had blanked the university men in an earlier game at Topeka. The deciding game was played on the Washburn field. Neither team scored in thirteen innings. In the fourteenth a homerun following a double gave K. U. two runs, a lead that looked mountainous. But the Ichabods came back with an assault on Harlan that produced five hits, three runs and victory.³⁹

Baird of the Aggies shut out the Washburn nine that same season and Baker's Mason also stopped the Ichabods. The Bethany Swedes had a great club in 1909, counting K. U. among their victims. In 1910 the Aggies, as they called the Kansas State Wildcats in those days when the big Manhattan school was still a "cow college," won 20 out of 24 games with Baird carrying the pitching burden and Josh Billings, the Grantville boy who went to Cleveland via the Topeka Western League club, as first string catcher.

Baker's contribution to the pro game was "Zip" Zabel, a rangy right-handed pitcher, who broke in with the Kansas City Blues and later went to the Chicago Cubs. Zabel played football and basketball at Baker while he was a professional baseball player. This is an illustration of the liberality of collegiate eligibility rules in Kansas, where participation in professional baseball only disqualifies an athlete for that particular sport while he retains his amateur stand-

38. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1910.

39. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1908.

ing in other sports. In many Eastern colleges this would have disqualified Zabel from all competition. Baker alumni of the pre-war days recall that Zabel was a good basketball center and a hard-hitting fullback on the gridiron.

The Kansas State and Central Kansas Leagues had ceased to exist before the end of the World War. Wichita lost its Western League club in 1933. Its last pennant was won in 1931. Art Griggs became owner in 1926, but moved the team to Tulsa in 1932. Frank Isbell then took over the Wichita franchise in an effort to keep the town on the organized baseball map, but after a few games in 1933 the team moved to Muskogee.

Since 1930 Wichita has held the state semipro tournament. The National Semipro Congress was organized in that city in 1935 when the first National Semipro tournament was held. Raymond Dumont, former Wichita newspaperman, is president of the organization and the state and national tournaments are now annual events in the city. A baseball school is held annually in April. Wichita semipro enthusiasts contend that the semipro game is faster than the Class C professional baseball played at Topeka, Salina and Hutchinson and express little interest in attempts to place a Western Association club in their city.

The ubiquitous Dick Cooley brought league baseball back to Topeka in 1922.⁴⁰ At various times during the next few years Topeka, Arkansas City, Independence, Coffeyville, Hutchinson and Salina were represented either in the Southwestern League or the Western Association. Topeka won the Southwestern pennant in 1925.⁴¹ The capital city tried Western League baseball in 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1933, with little success. Some good players were developed and sold to major league clubs, but the Topeka entry failed to finish higher than sixth place in the standings.

Wichita's withdrawal from the Western League in 1933 and several abortive attempts to put Topeka, Hutchinson and other cities in the Western Association nearly killed the professional game in Kansas. Baseball, both amateur and professional, was at its lowest ebb in the early 1930's. All the colleges abandoned the game but Kansas State. One of the hardest blows to college baseball was the passing of St. Mary's. The little Catholic college had dominated Kansas amateur baseball circles for years and trained several players for professional careers. Since 1931 the college enrollment has

40. *The Topeka State Journal*, April 21, 1922.

41. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1925.

been restricted to clerics, thus eliminating a program of competitive athletics.

The American Legion Junior Baseball program has been one of the most potent factors in bringing about the revival of interest in baseball. Nation-wide in scope, the program was launched by the Legion in 1926 and has operated in Kansas since its inception. Boys below the age of seventeen are eligible for competition on clubs sponsored by local Legion posts. Kansas has forty teams in the field, who compete for the state championship and the right to enter the regional, sectional and national play-offs. The Western Sectional tournament was held at Topeka in 1934. The program is directed by the Junior Baseball subcommittee of the National Americanization commission of the American Legion.⁴²

Major league magnates were not slow to recognize the potential value of the Junior Baseball program as a source of material for major league clubs. The National and American Leagues now contribute \$20,000 toward the expense of the national play-offs. In the Junior World Series of 1939 Dan Barry of the American League and Ernest C. Quigley of St. Marys, a National League umpire, officiated.⁴³

A second factor in the revival of baseball in Kansas is the Ban Johnson League, an amateur organization for youths under 21. Named for the late Bancroft Johnson, who for many years was president of the American League, the Ban Johnson movement began in Kansas City, Mo., in 1928, when the Kansas City Junior League was renamed in Mr. Johnson's honor. The American League contributed \$300 for a trophy as an award to the winning teams in 1929.

Harry Suter of Salina was granted permission to form the Ban Johnson League of Kansas in 1933. An eight-club league was organized with clubs in Salina, Topeka, Beloit, Abilene, Wichita, El Dorado, Emporia and Dodge City. When applications were received from additional cities the league was split into three divisions. Division winners meet in an elimination series for the state title and since 1935 the Kansas champions have met the Missouri title holders in a series for the national championship.⁴⁴

Players who have reached their twenty-first birthdays after the first of the year are permitted to play during the ensuing season. No player receives any pecuniary compensation, although most of

42. *Junior Baseball for 1940*, a pamphlet published by the National Americanization Commission of the American Legion.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Goodman, Frank, "Records of the Ban Johnson League of America."

the clubs have paid managers. The clubs are sponsored by civic organizations or by local industrial concerns. The Kansas Ban Johnson lineup is—Central division: Beloit, Concordia, Fairbury (Nebr.), Junction City, Beatrice (Nebr.), Manhattan and Marysville. In the Western division are: Dodge City, Garden City, Larned, Liberal and Pratt. The Southeastern division consists of Coffeyville, Fort Scott, Humboldt, Independence, Iola, Parsons and Pittsburg. Because the policy of the league is to avoid conflict with professional baseball, Salina and Topeka dropped out of the league when they acquired Western Association franchises.⁴⁵ According to Walter Sloan of Topeka, president of the Ban Johnson League of Kansas, a sixth club may be added to the Western division and an eighth club to the Central division. Dr. G. L. Cowan of Dodge City is vice president and James E. Lang of Junction City is secretary and treasurer of the league. Leon Lundblade, Beloit attorney and former state president, recently succeeded Frank Goodman of Kansas City, Mo., as national president.

Night baseball, which was introduced to Kansas in 1932, has proved to be the salvation of the professional game. The Hutchinson, Salina and Topeka Western Association clubs play most of their games under the flood lights. When league baseball returned to Kansas in 1937 club owners wisely followed the example of the small colleges who have made night football pay in recent years. Kansas' leisure class is neither numerous nor sufficiently interested in baseball to fill the stands on week days, but "fans" who spend their afternoons at the office or the golf club are patronizing the night games.

Soft ball, which local tradition says was originated by Topekans in 1916, has acquired a tremendous popularity in the past five years. The new game has stimulated interest in its parent sport, recent developments have proven. Topeka has twenty or more soft ball teams playing to large and enthusiastic crowds and the city celebrated its return to organized baseball in 1939 by establishing a new season's attendance record for the Western Association.

Kansas University, which had dropped baseball in 1931, put a team on the diamond again in 1937. Baker, pioneer in college athletics, renewed baseball activity in 1939, after an interlude of ten years, and the Haskell Indians were back in the game to provide neighborly rivalry for the Baldwin team. Friends University and Sterling College also are playing baseball again. Many of the

45. *Ibid.*

larger high schools took up the game in 1940, including Wyandotte and Ward of Kansas City, the two Wichita high schools and Topeka.

Kansas is well represented in the major leagues today. Pittsburg, always a baseball center, is the winter home of Don Gutteridge of the St. Louis Cardinals and Ray Mueller of the Pittsburgh Pirates. Eldon Auker, a former Kansas State College athlete whose home is at Norcatur, is now with the St. Louis Browns. Auker, a pitcher, was previously with the Detroit Tigers and the Boston Red Sox. Elon Hogsett, left-handed Indian pitcher from Ness City, was a team mate of Auker's at Detroit for two seasons. He was sent back to the minor leagues, but returned to the American League this spring as a member of the Philadelphia Athletics. Fred Brickell and Forrest Jensen, both of Wichita, are with the Pittsburgh Pirates and Ira Smith, another resident of the Sedgwick county metropolis, is with the St. Louis Cardinals.

Many Kansas baseball players reached the top of the ladder in the years gone by, including Frank Isbell, who played second base for the old Chicago White Sox. Isbell has been a resident of Wichita for forty years and is now a member of the Sedgwick county board of commissioners. Claude Hendricks of Stanley was one of the mainstays of the Pittsburgh Pirates pitching staff in the World War era. The Barnes brothers, Jess and Zeke, who came from a farm near Circleville, pitched good ball for the major leagues in the 1920's. Jess Barnes starred in the 1921 World Series between the Giants and the Yankees. Jake Beckley of Leavenworth played first base for the Cardinals for several seasons at the peak of his career. Art Griggs of Topeka, played in the outfield for the St. Louis Browns for many years and later managed several minor league clubs, including Wichita. Judge Hugo Wedell of the Kansas supreme court, a resident of Chanute, was once with the Philadelphia Phillies, as were Ray Pierce and George Darrow of Topeka.

Hutchinson's most notable contribution was Babe Adams, one of Pittsburgh's great pitchers. Charlie Keller, another Salt City boy, was with the Chicago White Sox. Newton claims Nick Allen, erstwhile catcher for the Cincinnati Reds. Kansas City produced Zack Wheat, Brooklyn outfielder and his brother Mack, a catcher with the same club. Pat Collins, now a Kansas City business man, is a former New York Yankees' catcher.

Dale Gear, a Topeka resident for nearly thirty years, has devoted the major portion of his life to the game. After a playing career

in major and minor leagues, Gear came to the capital city in 1912 as manager of the Western League club. For many years he was president of both the Western League and the Western Association. Gear retired from baseball in 1935.

St. Marys claims that Charlie Comiskey, first baseman of the old St. Louis Browns, was once a resident of that city. Comiskey and Ted Sullivan, another St. Marys Irishman, played ball together in the American Association and the National League. Comiskey and Ban Johnson organized the American League in 1900. For many years Comiskey was owner of the Chicago White Sox.⁴⁶

Steve O'Rourke, formerly coach at St. Mary's College, is a scout for the Boston Red Sox. His neighbor in St. Marys is Ernest C. Quigley, who is probably the best known figure in Kansas sport circles and the dean of National League umpires. Bob Enslie, Waterville; George Magerkurth, McPherson; George Barr, Scammon; and Brick Owens, Pittsburg, are other Kansans who became major league umpires.⁴⁷

46. The writer is compiling a list of Kansans who played major league baseball and will appreciate the assistance of sports editors, former players and lovers of the game in completing an authentic list. The names will be filed with the Kansas State Historical Society.

47. The Topeka *Daily Capital*, March 24, 1940.

Recent Additions to the Library

Compiled by HELEN M. McFARLAND, Librarian

IN ORDER that members of the Kansas State Historical Society and others interested in historical study may know the class of books we are receiving, a list is printed annually of the books accessioned in our specialized fields.

These books come to us from three sources, purchase, gift and exchange, and fall into the following classes: Books by Kansans and about Kansas; books on the West, including explorations, overland journeys and personal narratives; genealogy, local history and out-of-state directories; and books on the Indians of North America, United States history, biography and allied subjects which are classified under general.

We receive regularly the publications of many historical societies by exchange, and subscribe to other historical and genealogical publications which are needed in reference work.

The following is a partial list of books which were added to the library from October 1, 1938, to September 30, 1939. Government and state official publications and some books of a general nature are not included. The total number of books accessioned appears in the report of the secretary in the February issue of the *Quarterly*.

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Bypaths of Kansas History

THE FIRST WOMAN TO CLIMB PIKE'S PEAK ?

From *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, November 20, 1858.

The following is an extract from a private letter, written on the summit of Pike's Peak, by Mrs. Holmes, to her mother in Lawrence, K. T.:

I have accomplished the task which I marked out for myself, and now I feel amply repaid for all my toil and fatigue. Nearly every one tried to discourage me from attempting it, but I believed that I should succeed; and now, here I am, and I feel that I would not have missed this glorious sight for anything at all.

In all probability, I am the first woman who has ever stood upon the summit of this mountain, and gazed upon this wondrous scene which my eyes now behold. How I sigh for the poet's power of description, so that I might give you some faint idea of the grandeur and beauty of the scene. Think of the huge rocks projecting out in all imaginable shapes, with the beautiful evergreens, the pines, the firs, and spruces, interspersed among them, and then the clear cold mountain stream, which appears as though it started right out from under some great rock—and on it goes, rushing, rumbling, and hissing down over the rough mountain side, now sparkling in the sunbeams, and now hiding behind some huge rock, and now rising again to view, it rushes on, away down, down, until at length it turns a corner and is lost to our sight.

Extending as far as the eye can reach, lie the great level plains, stretched out in all their verdure and beauty, while the winding Arkansas is visible for many miles. We can also see distinctly where many of the smaller tributaries unite with it. Then the rugged rocks all around, and the almost endless succession of mountains and rocks below, the broad sky over our heads, and seemingly so very near; all, and everything, on which the eye can rest, fills the eye with infinitude, and sends the soul to God.

KANSAS EDITORS AT WORK

From the Lawrence *Republican*, April 25, 1861.

TO THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS.

I have sold my interest in the Lawrence *Republican* to H. H. Moore. He is as clever a fellow as I am.

V. N. SMITH.

From the Junction City *Weekly Union*, April 8, 1871.

Davis, of the Topeka *Commonwealth*, and Baker, of the *Record*, are calling each other damned scoundrels. The proof submitted on both sides is very satisfactory.

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Extracts from the diary of the late John W. Hill, prepared for publication by his daughter, Mrs. Jessie Rowland of McPherson, appeared in *The Democrat-Opinion*, McPherson, June 16, 1939. Mr. Hill was a member of a "locating committee" sent to Kansas in 1871 by the Ashtabula, Ohio, colony whose members came to Kansas in 1871 and 1872. A part of the diary is still in Mrs. Rowland's possession. The first notation is dated April 7, 1871, at Concordia.

The Norton County Champion, Norton, of November 30, 1939, reporting the fiftieth anniversary celebration of School District 38, Mount Caramel, which was to be held on December 3, printed a list of teachers and all known pupils of the school. The original records are lost, and this list may therefore be incomplete.

During the agrarian difficulties of the latter 1880's in Kansas and neighboring states, many farmers were receptive to the idea of moving on to greener pastures. In 1886 a coöperative colony, in connection with the projected construction of a Mexican railroad, was incorporated under the laws of Colorado and settlement was begun at Topolobampo, Mexico. Lacking capital, the colony made little progress until it received assistance from a Kansas organization, the Kansas Sinaloa Investment Company, founded by Christian B. Hoffman, a Kansas business man, in 1889. A weekly newspaper, *The Integral Co-operator*, was published at Enterprise, in order to stimulate investment in and emigration to the colony. Difficulties arose and in 1893 Hoffman and his company severed connections with the original group and established an independent colony called Libertad. However, neither Topolobampo nor Libertad was successful and by 1898 it was clear that the whole colonizing plan had failed. The story of this experiment was told by Sanford A. Mosk, of the University of California, in an article entitled "A Railroad to Utopia" which was published in *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Norman, Okla., in December, 1939 (v. XX, No. 3).

For sixty-two years Charles Epley of Hutchinson has kept a diary of his daily activities, reported the *Hutchinson News* on December 24, 1939. His notations are a record of his life since 1877, from his youth in Ohio to his experiences in Kansas as a carpenter, farmer, and finally as a peace officer in Hutchinson.

Kansas Historical Notes

Will H. Cady, editor of the *Augusta Journal* for fifty years, was guest of honor at an anniversary dinner and reunion of his friends and subscribers at the Augusta Methodist Church on December 3, 1939. The speaker of the evening, Victor Murdock of the *Wichita Eagle*, recalled persons and events well known to the old-timers present. Brief talks were made also by J. M. Satterthwaite of the *Douglass Tribune*, Stella B. Haines, president of the Augusta Historical Society, and other friends. Chester Shore, editor of the *Augusta Daily Gazette*, acted as toastmaster.

Stella B. Haines was reëlected president of the Augusta Historical Society at its annual meeting held in Augusta, January 8, 1940. Other officers chosen were Mrs. W. W. Cron, vice-president; K. L. Grimes, secretary, and Clyde Gibson, treasurer. The program included the annual reports of the secretary and treasurer, and a report relating to the projected restoration of the first building in Augusta.

The Riley County Historical Society held a Kansas day meeting and dinner at Manhattan on January 27, 1940. J. E. Edgerton, of Manhattan, the principal speaker, discussed the life of Nehemiah Green, governor of Kansas in 1868-1869.

R. O. Larsen, of Johnson county, was the speaker at the Kansas day meeting of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society, January 29, 1940. His topic was "Early Settlers of This Community."

All officers and directors of the Lyon County Chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society were reëlected at the annual meeting held in Emporia on January 31, 1940. The officers are W. L. Huggins, president; H. A. Wayman, first vice-president; H. A. Osborne, second vice-president; John S. Langley, treasurer; E. C. Ryan, secretary; and Lucina Jones, Mrs. Fannie R. Vickery and Mrs. F. L. Gilson, historians. The directors, whose two-year terms had expired and who were reëlected for three-year terms, are J. J. Wingfield for Agnes City township, L. H. Ames for Americus township, Ben Talbot for Pike township, W. A. White for fourth ward, Emporia, and Mrs. William Sheets for Waterloo township. Kirke Mechem, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, made a brief talk in which he offered suggestions for conducting the county

historical museum which is shortly to be established. George R. Pflaum, of Emporia State College, has agreed to donate a collection of Indian relics to the museum. Reports of the secretary and treasurer were heard, and Mrs. Gilson and Miss Jones gave reports on historical items. The Lyon County Society has the largest membership of any of the county organizations.

The Dickinson County Historical Society held its spring meeting at the Presbyterian church in Solomon on March 28, 1940. Papers on pioneer families and on various phases of county history were read. Bert Ramsey of Solomon, chairman of the program committee, presided at the open meeting, and Mrs. Carl Peterson of Enterprise, president of the society, presided at the business meeting. There was an attendance of 150 persons from all parts of the county, and motion pictures of the group, to be shown at the annual meeting next fall, were taken by Robert Riordan.

Ottawa University was host to the fourteenth annual meeting of the Kansas State History Teachers Association, held in Ottawa on April 6, 1940. The morning program included discussions by Bertrand Maxwell of Washburn College, Topeka, on "Background for the Present European War," and Charles B. Realey of the University of Kansas on "English Attitude Towards the War." In the business meeting in the afternoon two questions were debated: (1) Should the association affiliate with the Kansas Academy of Science? and (2) Should the association coöperate with the Kansas branch of the National Council for Social Studies? Action on these matters was postponed until next year. The session was concluded by a discussion led by F. H. Guild, head of the research bureau of the Kansas Legislative Council, on "Reforms in Kansas State Government." Following are the officers for the coming year: Raymond L. Welty, Fort Hays Kansas State College, president; Ernest Mahan, Pittsburg Kansas State Teachers College, vice-president, and Della A. Warden, Emporia Kansas State Teachers College, secretary-treasurer. Others on the executive committee besides the above-named officers are: Iden Reese, Kansas City Junior College, Robena Pringle, Topeka High School, and Harold E. Conrad, Ottawa University, the retiring president.

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Thaddeus Hyatt in Washington Jail

EDGAR LANGSDORF

ON MARCH 12, 1860, by order of the United States senate, Thaddeus Hyatt of New York and Kansas was imprisoned in the common jail of the District of Columbia. He had declined to testify before an investigating committee of the senate, basing his refusal on the belief that the senate had no power, in a legislative inquiry, to compel either the presence or the testimony of witnesses. He contended also that in such a legislative investigation it had no right to punish a contumacious witness, with the result that he went to jail charged with contempt.

Thaddeus Hyatt was one of those minor makers of history, well known and of considerable importance in their own time, who have faded into obscurity with the passing of years. A prosperous New York manufacturer, the inventor of the translucent paving glass which is still in common use, an enthusiast in aerial navigation experiments, a structural engineer who made significant contributions to the use of reinforced concrete in building, he was also an author, philanthropist and advocate of worthy causes. In 1856-1857 he had served as chairman of the National Kansas Committee which was organized to send food, clothing and supplies to the drought-ridden settlers of Kansas territory. He had been one of the founders of the town of Hyatt in Anderson county, and a vigorous supporter of the Free-State party in the territory. It was through this phase of his activities that he became acquainted with John Brown, the nation's most militant Abolitionist, and he had more than once supplied money for the work of freeing slaves.

Following the fiasco at Harper's Ferry in 1859, when Brown was captured by United States marines under Col. Robert E. Lee and subsequently hanged for treason, the senate began an investigation. On the first day of the session, December 5, 1859, before even it had notified the house of representatives that it was ready to proceed to business, it received a motion by James M. Mason of Virginia which was formally read by the clerk:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the facts attending the late invasion and seizure of the armory and arsenal of the United States at Harper's Ferry, in Virginia, by a band of armed men, and report whether the same was attended by armed resistance to the authorities and public force of the United States, and by the murder of any of the citizens of

Virginia, or of any troops sent there to protect the public property; whether such invasion and seizure was made under color of any organization intended to subvert the government of any of the States of the Union; what was the character and extent of such organization; and whether any citizens of the United States, not present, were implicated therein, or accessory thereto, by contributions of money, arms, munitions, or otherwise; what was the character and extent of the military equipment in the hands, or under the control, of said armed band, and where and how and when the same was obtained and transported to the place so invaded. And that said committee report whether any and what legislation may, in their opinion, be necessary, on the part of the United States, for the future preservation of the peace of the country, or for the safety of the public property; and that said committee have power to send for persons and papers.¹

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 55 to 0 on December 14, and next day a select committee of five members was appointed, composed of Mason as chairman, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Graham N. Fitch of Indiana, Jacob Collamer of Vermont, and James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin.² The three first named were Democrats, the two latter were Republicans.

Because Thaddeus Hyatt was known to be an active Antislavery man as well as a supporter of Brown, and because it was reported that his name appeared on more than one paper in Brown's famous carpet-bag, he was among those summoned by the committee to appear and give testimony. His first decision was to coöperate; then he changed his mind and said he would appear but would not testify.³ When he finally arrived in Washington on February 1, 1860, he was so ill that he was confined to his room. Two weeks later, on February 14, he was asked to meet with the committee on February 17, but he requested an extension of time and was given three days more. This grace, however, was not enough for him. On February 20, instead of presenting himself, he wrote to Mason that despite his "very respectful, urgent and reasonable request for delay" the committee had seen fit to make a "peremptory demand" for his appearance. He declared that he was in Washington as a courtesy to the committee, that if he appeared and testified it would be on the same voluntary basis, and that his position was in no sense founded on any legal necessity. He might, he said, decide to testify under protest, without protest, or he might refuse to testify at all. In any case the decision would take a little time, and he asked for ten days more to think it over. Mason's reply, forthcom-

1. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess. (1859-1860), Pt. 1, p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 162.

3. *New York Daily Tribune*, January 31, 1860. Said the *Tribune*: "In this position Mr. Hyatt is sustained by the best legal advice of Massachusetts and New York."

ing immediately, was that if Hyatt did not appear as ordered, on that very day, he would ask for process to compel him.⁴

Here the issue was joined. A battle over a question of constitutional interpretation was begun, with Hyatt contending ferociously that the senate had no power to compel either persons or papers in a purely legislative inquisition, and Mason insisting with equal vigor that it did. In addition to this point there was the further question of whether the senate had power to punish a witness who defied it. Hyatt wrote on February 21 that he would test the whole procedure in a state court, and on the same day the senate, at the request of the committee, ordered his arrest. From Boston, where he had gone to consult counsel, he informed Senator Mason on February 24 that any process could be served on him through his attorney, S. E. Sewall, at No. 46 Washington street. To both Mason and D. R. McNair, the sergeant-at-arms of the senate, he said that he would return to Washington on March 7 to await the senate's course.⁵ These gentlemen, however, were unimpressed by Hyatt's courteous individualism, for Theodore Hyatt, his brother, wrote from New York on March 5 that "Thaddeus left here last night with McNair . . . for Washington. . . ." ⁶

On March 6 he was brought to the bar of the senate in the custody of McNair and supported on the arm of his old friend W. F. M. Arny, another figure well known in Kansas history who had appeared before the committee on January 16. Senator Mason offered a resolution, adopted by a vote of 49 to 6, that two questions be put to Hyatt: first, what was his excuse for failing to appear before the committee in accordance with the summons served on him on January 24, and second, was he now ready to appear and testify. Hyatt's answers, in writing and under oath, were to be handed in by two o'clock, March 9.⁷ The voluminous manuscript with which he appeared on that day, prepared in large part by his attorneys, John A. Andrew and S. E. Sewall, was read by the clerk, Hyatt himself being too weak to undertake the task. There were several interruptions for debate and finally the hearing was continued. On March 12 Mason offered a resolution that Hyatt's answer gave no sufficient excuse and moved that he be committed to the common jail of the District of Columbia. Then ensued a long

4. *Ibid.*, February 2, 7, 22, 1860.

5. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1860.

6. Letter to S. C. Pomeroy, in Theodore Hyatt's "Letter Press Book," MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

7. *Congressional Globe*, Pt. 2, pp. 999, 1000. *New York Daily Tribune*, March 7, 1860.

debate on whether the senate had such power, which eventually was brought to an end by an affirmative vote of 44 to 10.⁸

Hyatt remained in jail until June 15, more than three months. He himself never made an objection, nor any attempt to free himself,⁹ and he refused his consent to proposals for attempting to secure his release by means of habeas corpus proceedings. Instead he prepared himself for a lengthy stay. He converted his cell into a comfortable apartment, elaborately furnished and decorated, screening off a part for his bed chamber. He mailed "at home" cards to friends and politicians in Washington, and even had a supply of blank checks printed with his new address, Washington Jail, spread across the top in large type. The entertainment of visitors occupied much of his time, and it is said that his visitors' book soon began to read like a roster of the North's political and social elite. Between callers he busied himself with various humanitarian endeavors, including the arrangement of meetings at Cooper Institute, New York, in the interest of freedom, and he wrote occasional letters to newspapers. One of his more important projects, it is said, was the drawing up of a legal case against holding slaves in jail in the District of Columbia. He had unearthed the old colonial laws of Delaware and Maryland which prohibited the holding of Christians in jail. Since the laws had never been removed from the statute books, and the slaves of his day were Christians, the conclusion of his syllogism is obvious. Even lawyers of the caliber of Montgomery Blair, the postmaster general, who had served as counsel for Dred Scott in 1857, were reported to believe that the colonial law was still effective in the District. Such an issue, Hyatt thought, though clearly farfetched, could at least be made the basis for a vigorous agitation.¹⁰

If Hyatt was busy and content where he was, those interested in his well-being were anxious to have him freed. His health was poor

8. *Congressional Globe*, Pt. 2, pp. 1076-1086, 1100-1109.

9. At least one abortive effort was made in the senate to secure his release. On May 28, Sen. James Dixon of Connecticut offered a resolution that he be removed from the jail and allowed to go about freely within the limits of the city of Washington, but no action was taken on the motion.—*Congressional Globe*, Pt. 3, p. 2383. There were several public expressions of sympathy during his term in jail: On May 11 a meeting was held at Cooper Institute, New York, at which the speakers were S. E. Sewall, Wendell Phillips, and the Rev. Dr. George B. Cheever. On May 20 Dr. Cheever spoke on the subject of Hyatt's imprisonment at his Church of the Puritans in New York.—*New York Daily Tribune*, May 12 and 19, 1860.

10. These statements are found in an interview with Hyatt by Richard J. Hinton, a newspaperman whose lapses from fact are frequent, which was printed in the *New York World* probably in 1895 ("Hinton Scrapbook," v. II, pp. 13, 14, Kansas State Historical Society library). A sketch of Hyatt's jail "lodgings" is included. One of his "Washington Jail" checks is in the Society's MSS. vault. The *New York Daily Tribune* of April 4, 1860, prints a copy of a draft received for payment at a New York bank which illustrates Hyatt's "Abolitionist" methods: "Washington Jail, March 29, 1860. The Broadway Bank, at the City of New-York, pay to Patrick Henry King, esq., jailor, or order, \$45, being amount of jail fees to discharge Lloyd Chambers, a colored man, incarcerated for six months, on suspicion of his not owning himself. (Signed) Thaddeus Hyatt."

and they feared the confinement would do him serious harm. During the first weeks of his imprisonment, before it was realized that he would rebuff all attempts to secure his release, Theodore was constantly writing in such vein as this: “. . . When will you sue out the writ of habeas-corpus & when will the case be heard & decided. Write me all the particulars for I want you to get out of that ‘dog-hole’ soon as possible. . . .”¹¹ In a letter to a friend he reported: “. . . My good brother still remains in Washington Jail and appears to *enjoy* his condition exceedingly. In his last letter to me he says ‘I am much stronger & feel better every way. I think if I can only manage to *retain* my *situation* & not get *turned* out, that I shall get well.’ I take it if the Senate knew of his happiness they would expel him very soon.”¹² On May 20 he wrote to Thaddeus: “. . . I am very glad to hear you are so comfortable, but *how* your *staying* in that dog-hole ‘is the best service you can render the *unthinking* world’ I confess is utterly beyond my limited comprehension. . . .”¹³

Theodore believed that Thaddeus should take legal steps to determine his position. He wrote:

. . . In an *elective* government like ours for any person to attempt to annul, repeal, or abrogate an *oppressive* law by resisting its operation seems to me as unwise and unreflecting as it would be to throw yourself before the “Car of Juggernaut” to arrest its onward progress. I submit the proper course is to enlighten the public mind and agitate the subject until some action is taken that will modify or repeal the obnoxious statute, and to do this a man out of prison will be much more effective than one *in* prison. . . .

Thaddeus, he continued, should take his case to the supreme court and should abide by whatever decision might be handed down.¹⁴

In a letter to Army on March 21 he elaborated this view:

. . . That misguided brother [of mine] . . . ought to get out a writ of “Habeas Corpus” immediately while “Judge McLean”¹⁵ is on the bench and have the whole question decided by the Supreme Court. If the decision sustains the Senate then testify under *protest* and come home & attend to his business matters instead of pursuing a “Quixotic” combat for the *imaginary* welfare of the dear public who don’t care a *pin* whether he dies in the prison or gutter— he is but performing the part of the “Bull on the Rail Road.” . . . I much fear my good brother has an *exaggerated* conception of the importance of his position in this matter and am well satisfied his contem-

11. Theodore to Thaddeus Hyatt, March 14, 1860, in “Letter Press Book.”

12. Letter to Mrs. S. C. Pomeroy, April 12, 1860, in *ibid.*

13. Theodore to Thaddeus Hyatt.—*Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1860.

15. John McLean, associate justice of the United States supreme court, acquired a reputation as a friend of the Antislavery forces because of his opinion in the Dred Scott case—one of the rare instances in which he dissented from the majority—that slavery was contrary to right and was sustained only by local law.

plated *appeal* to the public will attract very little attention as they think he stands upon mere etiquette or formality, and this being so how can the masses become interested in the case when *real & actual* suffering and outrage find it so difficult to arouse the people to *action* in its behalf.

No! no! my poor brother should come down from his cloudy, dreamy political world of *Ideality*, to the hard matter-of-fact selfish world of *reality*, abandon his self-immolation as altogether unnecessary, uncalled for and productive of *no* good to [the] world generally or himself individually. . . .¹⁶

Writing again to Arny two days later he reiterated his opinion that everything was to be gained and nothing lost by a habeas corpus proceeding carried before the supreme court.

. . . I cannot imagine why Thaddeus should object to this measure for if unsuccessful, his *present* position surely will not be *damaged*, but if perchance he should prove *successful*, then indeed he will have *conquered* the "Senate" and achieved a signal *triumph* for the *public*, *because* he will have the *Law* on his side as well as *Justice*.

On this question I think he might obtain an *impartial* decision from the "Court" for the reason that there is no party or political phase to the case as is evident from the fact of Thaddeus being imprisoned by the votes of both *friends & foes*, Republicans & Democrats, and even if the "Court" should not *discharge* him I think they would be *divided* in their opinion & this (small as it may be) would be of some advantage as shewing the question a debatable one. . . .

" . . . [I] am sorry," he added, "to find his 'palace' is infested with vermin, but suppose they (the vermin) conceive their rights to the *hospitalities* of the Government are equal to those of Mr. Hyatt. . . ."¹⁷

Thaddeus was a never-ending source of trouble to his brother, chiefly because of his ineptitude in business matters. He seemed unable to regulate his expenditures according to his income, his taxes were frequently delinquent, and he was known to promise loans or gifts of money which he did not have. Much of the burden of managing his financial affairs fell to Theodore, and it was no easy task even to keep Thaddeus solvent. For example, he had made promises, said Theodore in September, that would obligate him to pay out something like \$11,000 during the next two or three months, which would amount to more than twice his income for the same period.

. . . The fact is, . . . unless my poor demented, insane brother changes his course and husband his resources Heaven itself cannot save him from destruction, for while he is *wasting* thousands of dollars on the *infernal* John Brown, Washington Jail *humbug* his property heavily mortgaged is eating him up with expense of interest, taxes & assessments amounting yearly to

16. Theodore Hyatt to W. F. M. Arny, "Letter Press Book."

17. *Ibid.*, March 23, 1860.

over *five* thousand dollars, and not paying his taxes & assessments when due his property is constantly sold & when redeemed costs 15 pct. and expenses equal to 20 pct—enough to ruin any man. . . .

Only the week before, Theodore continued, he had paid \$600 to redeem a block of fifty-six lots in South Brooklyn which had been sold two years previously for delinquent taxes. The period during which they might be redeemed had expired in July, but fortunately the purchaser was generous and allowed the property to be repurchased for only the usual fifteen percent interest and expenses. "I am now having searches made against *all* the property and will clear it off of corporation liens and will see if Thaddeus will keep it so, if not then he must take charge of it himself. . . ." ¹⁸

In another letter of September 15 he wrote that he "could not *foresee* Thad would waste since then [June] some \$4,000.00 on that *cursed* Brown-Washington affair instead of applying the money to liquidate his debts then past due. . . ." Theodore said he had received a letter from a creditor of Thaddeus requesting that the whole or at least a part of the debt be paid, and remarking that "while it was very laudable for Mr. Hyatt to go to Kansas to relieve those in want there it was *much more* his *duty* to pay his obligations here," in which sentiment, added Theodore, "I most *fully* concur. . . ." Thaddeus' income for the February quarter should be a handsome one, his brother remarked, and should yield a handsome surplus over expenditures, unless he continued to behave as foolishly as he had in the past, "and here is just the trouble with the confounded fellow. You can make no calculations on his movements. Can't tell where he will jump from one day to another. I wish we could cage & keep him safely for only one year and I could get his affairs in good shape—if he would go off to Europe I would pay his expenses out and allow him \$200 per month while there, which would be ample for the support of any ordinary man. . . ." ¹⁹

The three months of Hyatt's imprisonment, if they were beneficial to himself, were an added hardship to his brother, who was regularly sending him cider, books, peaches, candles and various oddments to make his stay in jail more comfortable, and who had at the same time the usual responsibility of overseeing his financial transactions. Theodore commented on the "long-day of rest and freedom from care & anxiety of business" which Thaddeus was en-

18. Letter from Theodore, September 1, 1860.—*Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.* The two letters last cited were written after Hyatt's release from jail and after he had gone to Kansas to make arrangements for assisting the drought-beset residents

joying, adding that to get rid of such troubles himself for a season he would not mind taking his place for a few weeks.²⁰

While Hyatt was in jail the select committee continued its spasmodic gropings. According to the final printed report, which included the testimony heard, thirty-three persons were examined, the first on January 5 and the last on May 2, 1860. Twenty of these appeared before the committee during January and eleven during February, while only one was examined in March, none in April, and one in May.²¹ Several others were summoned, but for various reasons did not appear. Of the so-called "secret six," those men who were said to be John Brown's principal backers and most familiar with his plans, Gerrit Smith was on the verge of insanity, Theodore Parker was dying in Italy, F. B. Sanborn and Dr. Samuel G. Howe had escaped to Canada, while Thomas Wentworth Higginson, coolly standing his ground in Worcester, was never called. George L. Stearns was the only one of the six who appeared and testified.²² John Brown, Jr., who probably knew as much as anyone of the background of the Harper's Ferry episode, surrounded himself with armed bodyguards in Ohio and defied the senate's agents to arrest him. He, with Sanborn, James Redpath and Hyatt were ordered arrested by the committee for failing to appear, but Hyatt alone was taken into custody and jailed.²³

Finally the committee gave up the ghost. On May 29 the New York *Tribune's* Washington correspondent reported that the investigation was virtually at a standstill; no witnesses had been called for several weeks and for all practical purposes the inquisition was closed.²⁴ Senator Mason on June 15 submitted the majority report for himself, Davis and Fitch, the Democratic members, and Senators Collamer and Doolittle, the Republicans, handed in their minority report. The latter was concise, but comprehensive, said the *Tribune*, while Mason's longer document could only make the best of a bad case.²⁵ The select committee was discharged and Mason moved that Hyatt be released, saying:

. . . So far as I was instrumental in procuring the arrest of this man, and his committal to jail, it was done in vindication of the authority of the Senate;

20. Theodore to Thaddeus, May 2, 1860.—*Ibid.*

21. *Senate Committee Report No. 278*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess. Ser. No. 1040.

22. O. G. Villard, *John Brown, 1800-1859, A Biography Fifty Years After* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910), pp. 529-536.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 582. Although a warrant was issued in February for Redpath's arrest he had so little respect for it or for the committee that he actually visited Hyatt in jail, using the alias James Cotton. Another visitor was Richard J. Hinton, who called himself Richard Reed.—Letter of Thomas W. Hopkins (Thomas H. Webb) to Hyatt, April 24, 1860, in "Thaddeus Hyatt Papers," MSS. division. See, also, New York *Daily Tribune*, April 28.

24. New York *Daily Tribune*, May 30, 1860.

25. *Ibid.*, June 15.

and I should be, so far as I am concerned as a Senator, for detaining him there until his testimony was given; but the committee now being discharged from its duty, there is no committee before which the testimony can go; and, therefore, I move his discharge.²⁶

Hyatt, a free man once more, wired friends in New York: "Have been kicked out; will be home tomorrow."²⁷

The issue involved in the Hyatt case was solely one of constitutional interpretation. It roused a brief public interest, and in certain circles a considerable controversy. As the New York *Tribune's* Washington correspondent put it:

The feeling of the hour turns on the question of the difference between the tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee of Mr. Hyatt. The Senate desire him to say whether he knows anything about the Harper's Ferry inroad. He says he don't know anything about it, and he will say so if the Senate will only *invite* him to answer, and not *require* him to answer. But the Senate says it will not abandon its right of inquiry. . . .²⁸

Hyatt was standing for what he believed to be an important point of democratic privilege—as indeed it was—and this fact was generally recognized even by those who considered his idea wrong and his course of action ill chosen. The *Tribune*, which might have been expected to support him both on grounds of party politics and social ideology, condemned his procedure as well intended but not well advised.

. . . We wish we could realize that his long and close confinement has been as beneficial to the public as it must have been irksome to himself. There was opportunity and necessity for a good blow in the direction he contemplated; yet we cannot see that Mr. Hyatt has struck that blow. The most that can be said is that he has helped to draw public attention to a grave danger to personal liberty and individual rights. If it be indeed lawful for either House of Congress to send a mere servant of one of its servants into any State or Territory and drag thence any number of citizens not accused nor even suspected of any crime, haul them to Washington, ask them whatever questions an irresponsible Committee may see fit to put, and imprison them indefinitely in case their answers are not deemed satisfactory, then it is clear that we hold our right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" by a very frail tenure. . . . We thought Mr. Hyatt's resistance, though . . . well intended, not well advised, and we did not sustain it, though he was a Republican and his questioners were Democrats. We will hope, however, that his course has not been in vain, and that Congress will now be constrained to define by law its powers of inquisition and of constraint to answer.²⁹

26. *Congressional Globe*, Pt. 4, pp. 3006, 3007.

27. So says the Kansas City (Mo.) *Journal*, August 4, 1901, and neither the action nor the words would be inconsistent with Hyatt's character. Among the "Hyatt Papers," MSS. division, is a copy of a telegram he sent to a C. H. Brainard, on June 15: "Tell Webb faith is equal to powder. I am discharged. [Signed] Thad. Hyatt."

28. New York *Daily Tribune*, March 16, 1860.

29. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1860. This statement amounts to an affirmation of policy previously stated in the issue of February 22.

Earlier the Washington correspondent of the *Tribune* had mockingly remarked:

. . . When we know that he merely stands for the defense of the right to defend an indefensible, or at least a very questionable position, if he or anybody else should ever happen to get into it, he reaches the vanishing point. Ordinary vision cannot see its merits. It is easy to talk about John Hampden and the forty shillings and all that, but as Mrs. Malaprop would say that is an unparalleled case. The difference is, that the power claimed in old Hampden's case, under the law, if exercised, might be made to ruin anybody or everybody; while in the case of our Hampden, it can hurt nobody, under the law as it stands, unless exposing criminals be a hurt. . . .³⁰

In the issue of April 28 Hyatt commented sorrowfully on "the very ungenerous and untruthful" letter of the Washington correspondent, published without editorial note or comment. "I had supposed myself entitled to different treatment in *The Tribune*," he complained, "though I did not look for it in *The N. Y. Times* or *N. Y. Herald*."

The *Tribune* confessedly was interested in the practical aspects of the committee's investigation, that is, in its political results for the Republican party, and it felt that while Hyatt's position might have been sound in principle it was unwise from the viewpoint of party expediency. Editor Greeley, ever a realist, said editorially that since no one believed the investigation would succeed in its chief aim of uncovering evidence involving other persons "not present," it should be allowed to go its way freely until in the end it "would react upon those who insisted upon it, and the mining party were doomed inevitably to be hoisted with their own petard." To press to an issue at this time an abstract question of right, he claimed, "was to give aid and comfort to the enemy by permitting him to draw off the public attention to a new point, under cover of which he was glad to hide his own defeat at the real point of attack. Therein Mr. Hyatt was not wise, and the Mason Committee owe him an acknowledgment that he saved them from becoming ridiculous. . . ." Further, Greeley agreed with Theodore Hyatt that if the senate's attitude was to be changed it must come from a pressure of public opinion which was not yet created. And what had Hyatt gained by going to jail? Before he could hope to command sympathy he must show substantial reasons for his course.

. . . We have no respect for rose-water martyrdom. Martyrdom is a very serious and a very respectable thing, and we do not like to see it cheapened. If Mr. Hyatt chooses to put himself in the way of being provided with a residence in the Washington Jail, out of which he can walk the

30. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1860.

moment he chooses, by following the example of men quite as wise and quite as conscientious as himself, we do not feel ourselves called upon to hold him up as a great sufferer for a great principle. He settles nothing and elucidates nothing by remaining in confinement, except the power of the Senate to punish for contempt; he does not avail himself of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* to test the legality of his imprisonment; he does not ask, or does not induce, his friends in the Senate to bring up for discussion in that body the question of their power; he remains in jail on a technicality of legislative etiquette, and we have too much respect for martyrdom to acknowledge that it comes under that category. . . .³¹

To this scorching attack Hyatt replied by submitting a letter from a J. K. Ingalls, printed in the *Daily Tribune* on May 26, which supported his stand, and he followed this with two laudatory letters from F. B. Sanborn which appeared on June 9.³² He had earlier explained, to his own satisfaction, his reasons for not testing the constitutionality of his arrest in a state court. Before he had left Boston for Washington his attorney, S. E. Sewall, had asked the deputy United States marshal, Watson Freeman, Jr., whether an opportunity to go to a state court would be permitted, if Freeman were ordered to serve a precept for Hyatt's arrest. The marshal replied that if such an order were issued he would execute it promptly. Thus, when Hyatt was ordered to appear in Washington, Sewall and his co-counsel, John A. Andrew, advised him to obey, supposing that the senate would listen to Hyatt's argument. However, not only did they attempt to gag him, but when Senators Sumner and Hale insisted that he be heard many of the senators left the room, returning to pass judgment only after the defense had been read. A further influence against attempting a test through judicial process, he said, was the example of his friend Sanborn, who had narrowly escaped kidnaping by officers.³³

Whether Hyatt's view was sound in principle, there can be no question that the weight of precedent was against it. Inquiry by a legislative body obviously is necessary for acquiring information necessary to the enactment of law, or for the purpose of learning

31. *Ibid.*, May 14. That Hyatt did believe his position constituted at least a minor martyrdom, and hoped for definitive results because of it, is shown by his remark that being in jail was the best service he could render the "unthinking world."—Cf. Theodore's letter of May 20 to Thaddeus, quoted on p. 231 *supra*. Greeley is not fair to Hyatt, nor accurate in his statement that no discussion took place in the senate on the question of their power to hold for contempt; hours of debate were given over to this point.

32. While he was in jail he received personal letters from George L. Stearns, Richard J. Hinton, Annie E. Sterling of Bridgeport, Conn., I. R. W. Sloane and Nelson Sizer of New York, Henry R. Smith of Cleveland and many others, some of them complete strangers but all offering full measure of sympathy and encouragement.—"Thaddeus Hyatt Papers," MSS. division.

33. New York *Daily Tribune*, April 28, 1860. The story of the attempt on Sanborn was printed in the *Daily Tribune* on April 6 and 7. Sanborn later secured a writ of *habeas corpus* from the supreme court of Massachusetts (Sanborn v. Carlton, 15 Gray 399 Mass. 1860) on the ground that the senate's sergeant at arms had wrongfully deputed his authority to arrest.

whether laws are properly executed. It is equally obvious that such inquiry to be effective must be accompanied by power to punish a recalcitrant witness. This power to "send for persons and papers," say authorities on constitutional law, is part of the ancient "*Lex et Consuetudo Parliamenti*," which is itself part of the English common law, and has been as repeatedly upheld by English and American courts as it has been insisted upon by colonial, state and national legislatures. The power to punish for contempt has frequently been used by American state legislatures, regardless of constitutional or statutory authority, because it is considered an ancillary power belonging to every sovereign legislature. In this respect it must, of course, belong equally to congress. In the United States it has always existed as a *sine qua non* of the legislative function, and has been used indiscriminately in cases of refusal to heed summonses or to answer questions, as well as in cases involving libel, fraud or physical attacks on members of legislatures. Wherever legislative power has been granted, it must be considered that the body exercising it has also an implied power to investigate.³⁴

Although this case marked the first time that the issue of compulsory process had been brought to a head in the senate, there had been almost identical arguments in the house of representatives in 1827, and in 1857 a statute had been enacted "more effectually to enforce the attendance of witnesses on the summons of either House of Congress and to compel them to discover testimony" which provided specifically for the punishment of contumacious witnesses. In addition it disqualified any facts disclosed by a witness from being used against him in a subsequent criminal proceeding and even granted a complete pardon for any facts or acts to which he might be required to testify.³⁵ This act of congress was disregarded by the senate in the Hyatt case, and was overlooked also by newspaper commentators. The *Tribune*, for example, remarked that

Everybody knows that, if Mr. Hyatt can tell anything that the Senate wants to know, his evidence must inculcate himself—that he is arrested and catechised to that end. If he could tell anything to the purpose, he must tell that he had been privy to a conspiracy to instigate rebellion; and that is just what is wanted of him. If a culprit were on trial, he might be called to testify; but then he could decline to criminate himself; now he cannot.³⁶

34. Paraphrased from Ernest J. Eberling, *Congressional Investigations, A Study of the Origin and Development of the Power of Congress to Investigate and Punish for Contempt* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1928; No. 307 in "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law"), pp. 13-30 *passim*. Eberling analyzes the historico-legal aspects of the Hyatt case on pp. 161-167. Cf. also, Marshall E. Dimock, *Congressional Investigating Committees* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929; Series 47, No. 1, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science).

35. Eberling, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-316.

36. New York *Daily Tribune*, March 12, 1860.

At least once, however, the 1857 statute was referred to; Sanborn used it as one of the six objections which he raised to the senate's order for his arrest because, he said, it was contrary to the principles of the common law to compel a witness to testify against himself.³⁷

The end of the Hyatt case was also the end of the Harper's Ferry incident. John Brown was dead and those of his followers who still survived were scattered throughout America and abroad. The approach of secession made such affrays no longer of prime importance, and within a few months they were drowned out by the roar of Sumter's cannon. In August, 1861, some four months after the outbreak of war, Hyatt went to France as American consul at La Rochelle. While there he received a letter from Theodore, part of which must have stirred thoughts of the jail episode:

. . . The *greatest latest* sensation is created by the arrest on board of an English mail steamer of your old friend Senator Mason with Slidell of Louisiana the one as ambassador to England the other to France. they had run the blockade of Charleston & reached Cuba in safety. from there they sailed in the steamer but our consul informed Capt. Wilkes of the "Steam Frigate San Jacinto" of the matter and he sailed immediately determined to take them. he soon overtook the English steamer, sent his officers aboard and brought the gentlemen over. of course the British Capt made great fuss and when the news reaches England the papers, "Times" particularly will make greater fuss & howl terribly about the violation of the British flag. . . . Mason & Slidell are now confined at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor and if you could only be here long enough to call on your old persecutor and see him through the bars or under guard you might ask him if he remembers making your acquaintance before under somewhat similar circumstances. . . .³⁸

Subsequent investigations by both houses of congress have confirmed by usage the powers questioned in the Hyatt case, and the supreme court has given judicial sanction to such procedure. One of the most significant decisions of the court was that reported on January 18, 1927, in connection with the senate's investigation of the attorney general's department. The much-debated question of whether the senate or house could compel a private individual to appear and testify was here finally decided, in line with a long list of precedents, in the affirmative.³⁹

37. *Ibid.*, February 24, 1860.

38. Letter to Thaddeus Hyatt, November 23, 1861, in "Letter Press Book." The reference, of course, is to the famous *Trent* case, which nearly precipitated war with Great Britain.

39. Eberling, *op. cit.*, pp. 366 *et seq.*

Abilene, First of the Kansas Cow Towns

GEORGE L. CUSHMAN

DURING the latter part of the nineteenth century there appeared in various regions of the trans-Mississippi United States several types of frontier boom towns. Cow towns, mining towns, and railroad "end" towns waxed in lawless turbulence and waned into oblivion as Western "ghost" towns, or experienced a transition into more peaceable centers of agricultural communities.

Abilene, first of Kansas' railroad cow towns, was typical of these frontier communities in its beginning, civic development, and transition. It began as a station on the Overland stage lines and reached its zenith as one of a succession of northern railroad terminals and shipping points on Texas cattle trails, over which millions of long-horn cattle were driven in search of a market between 1866 and 1889. As the railroads extended westward Ellsworth, Hays City, Newton, Wichita, Dodge City, and other towns south and west became cattle shipping points, and Abilene was left to develop as an agricultural community.

Probably the first white family to take up residence in the immediate vicinity of Abilene was that of Timothy F. Hersey.¹ In 1856 Hersey staked out a claim on the west bank of Mud creek about two miles north of where it empties into the Smoky Hill river. The Butterfield Overland Despatch stage line came by his claim and he secured a contract with the company to feed the passengers and employees who came over the trail in the six-horse Concord coaches.² He advertised to the west-bound traveler the "last square meal east of Denver." Food at some of these stations consisted of bacon and eggs, hot biscuits, green tea, coffee, dried peaches and apples, and pies. Beef was served occasionally, as were canned fruits and vegetables.³ Hersey's establishment consisted of two log houses and a log stable and corral for horses.⁴

The next structure built was a dwelling known as "the Hotel," owned by C. H. Thompson, and located on the east bank of Mud

1. "Early History of Pioneers," in "Dickinson County Collections" (at Abilene), v. I, n. p.

2. *Ibid.*, v. IV, n. p.; A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 684.

3. Floyd Benjamin Streeter, *Prairie Trails and Cow Towns* (Boston, 1936), p. 14.

4. "Dickinson County Collections," v. IV, n. p.

creek, just opposite the Hersey establishment. Mr. Thompson used this as a way station for the Short Line Stage Company.⁵

In 1864 W. S. Moon built a store about the distance of a city block east from the creek. This place of business, under the name of the Frontier store, carried a small stock of widely assorted general merchandise. Its proprietor was postmaster and register of deeds, and his store later served as a meeting place for the sessions of district court.⁶ Another building, back from the trail and in the midst of a prairie dog town, housed a saloon and went under the name of "Old Man Jones'" saloon.⁷ Before many years a cluster of about a dozen scattered log houses was built on the east side of the creek by the emigrants who came in over the trails.

Such was the Abilene that Joseph G. McCoy found when he came west on the Kansas Pacific railway in search of a point on that line which could be used as a shipping point for the herds of Texas cattle being driven north. He wrote:

Abilene in 1867 was a very small, dead place, consisting of about one dozen log huts, low, small, rude affairs, four-fifths of which were covered with dirt for roofing; indeed, but one shingle roof could be seen in the whole city. The business of the burg was conducted in two small rooms, mere log huts, and of course the inevitable saloon, also in a log hut, was to be found.⁸

The first families to settle in the vicinity of the Tim Hersey and W. H. Thompson stage stations located east of Mud creek and south of the trail. They built rude log houses with mud-covered roofs. These families were people of several types. There were those temporary sojourners bound farther west, who because of some unforeseen calamity such as the sickness or death of a member of the family, the loss of an ox, or the breakdown of a wagon, had decided to drop out of the Overland trail procession at least temporarily.⁹ Many times seemingly trivial things decided whether a pioneer stopped at one place or another in his westward trek. The signs of the zodiac or the phases of the moon as pictured and explained in the almanac were often deciding factors.¹⁰

There were those who were attracted by the rich growth of prairie grass on the Smoky Hill river bottom land and decided that this was their destination. Sometimes the "Western fever" struck them

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (Kansas City, Mo., 1874), p. 44.

8. *Ibid.*

9. "Dickinson County Collections," v. VIII, n. p.

10. *Ibid.*

again and relentlessly drew them on to a new frontier. Some of these early settlers in later years insisted that their foresight told them that the region was due for a prosperous future and they stayed so as to be "proved up" when the "boom" should strike.¹¹

These were the types which resided in the dozen or so rude huts which, with Moon's Frontier store and Old Man Jones' saloon, made up the nucleus of what was to become Abilene.

In 1860 the counties of Kansas foresaw coming statehood for the territory and the organization fever swept throughout the settled part. In Dickinson county a contest developed over the selection of a county seat. C. H. Thompson laid out a townsite on his land east of Mud creek and hastily constructed some makeshift log houses to give it some semblance of a town.¹² It has been recorded that he then asked his neighbor, Tim Hersey, to give the new town a name, and Mr. Hersey referred the matter to his wife. Mrs. Hersey found a reference in the first verse of the third chapter of Luke in the *Holy Bible* which spoke of the "tetrarch of Abilene," and decided that "Abilene," which meant "city of the plains," would be appropriate, and it was so named.¹³

In the spring of 1861 a county-seat election was held. Union City, Smoky Hill (now Detroit), Newport, and Abilene were seeking the honors. Abilene, by securing the support of the Chapman creek settlers, won the election.¹⁴

There is very little recorded of the events in Abilene from 1861 to the coming of the railroad in 1867. No doubt its development during this period was much the same as other Western frontier towns during the Civil War period. Their routine and pattern was of a type.

The scattered arrangement and varied architecture of the log houses reflected the individuality of the builders. There were no streets, and the spaces between the houses were grown up with prairie grass.¹⁵

The frontier stores were cluttered and dirty, with cuspidors which never seemed quite large enough for the expectorator who lacked pride in his accomplishment. To the feminine customers with their

11. *Ibid.*

12. At the same time Abilene was laid out there appeared in Dickinson county the following other new towns: Union City, Smoky Hill, Newport, London Falls, Centerville, Arapahoe, Sand Spring, Bruce City, White Cloud, and Aroma. Their combined population, with the rest of the county, was 378.—Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 685.

13. Stuart Henry, *Conquering Our Great American Plains* (New York, 1930), pp. 22, 23.

14. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 685.

15. "Dickinson County Collections," v. VIII, n. p.

voluminous sweeping garments, this condition created a problem in sanitation.¹⁶

In the summer time there was the inevitable group of loiterers and habitués, which early in the day sought comfortable positions at points of visual vantage on the ground in front of the store or under a near-by tree, and spent hours talking about the inconsequential happenings of the community or some bit of news, remote or immediate. They were ever on the watch for some movement, whether it be the stirring of the branches of a tree by a breeze, a fitful whirlwind, the running of a dog, the slamming of a door, or anything of like nature that would provide a new topic for discussion.

The arrival of a stage or the passing of an emigrant party down the trail brought out the whole populace to find out who was aboard, whence they came, and whither bound, eager for any bit of rehashed or revised news from some other point. Eastbound travelers brought news of some late Indian depredation, and those who were west-bound brought word of some more or less recent happening of the war which was then in progress.

The winters were largely open and agreeable, but there were frequent bleak winds and occasional blizzards. The hunting expeditions after buffalo, antelope, wild turkey, and prairie chicken served the double purpose of providing a diversion and filling the family larder.¹⁷

The Kansas Pacific was extended west from Junction City early in the spring of 1867.¹⁸ J. G. McCoy bought a location east of the original townsite of Abilene for the location of his Drovers Cottage and the Great Western stockyards.

An east-west street running parallel to the railroad and about a block south of it was named Texas street.¹⁹ Its main intersecting street was called Cedar street, which ran south from the railroad about five blocks east of the creek. Around this intersection of Texas and Cedar streets was built the Texan Abilene that has been made the theme of many a Western "thriller."

A short street extending east from Cedar street and facing the railroad was called "A" street. East was Shane and Henry's real-estate office,²⁰ and Drovers Cottage. For two years the only semblance of a depot was a rough plank platform along the railroad

16. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

18. Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

19. Texas street was later called South First street.

20. In this office was the meeting place of the board of trustees of Abilene during 1869-1871.

right of way. In 1869, after being given town property as compensation the railroad company constructed a station house twelve feet by fourteen feet,²¹ with a four-foot by six-foot passenger waiting room.

On the north side of the Kansas Pacific right of way opposite Drovers Cottage was the office of the Great Western stockyards. West of it were Ed Gaylord's Twin Livery stables. The only other buildings north of the railroad and east of the creek were a colony of about twenty rambling frame structures, each containing from ten to fifteen rooms, located about a mile north of the tracks. These were the dance halls and the brothel houses where the "soiled doves" of the cattle trade catered to the lusts of the drovers, cowboys, gamblers, and gunmen who congregated during the summers at Abilene.

Drovers Cottage was the largest of the first business houses built. It was a three-story frame structure with about 100 rooms, a laundry, a dining room, and a broad veranda along the front. During the height of a season many former "Yanks" and "Johnny Rebs" formed new friendships and sealed many business deals with iced drinks.²²

The Alamo was the most elaborate of the saloons, and a description of it will give an idea of the plan of them all. It was housed in a long room with a forty-foot frontage on Cedar street, facing the west. There was an entrance at either end. At the west entrance were three double glass doors. Inside and along the front of the south side was the bar with its array of carefully polished brass fixtures and rails. From the back bar arose a large mirror, which reflected the brightly sealed bottles of liquor. At various places over the walls were huge paintings in cheaply done imitations of the nude masterpieces of the Venetian Renaissance painters. Covering the entire floor space were gaming tables, at which practically any game of chance could be indulged. The Alamo boasted an orchestra, which played forenoons, afternoons, and nights.²³ In the height of the season the saloons were the scene of constant activity. At night the noises that were emitted from them were a combination of badly rendered popular music, coarse voices, ribald laughter and Texan "whoops," punctuated at times by gun shots.

21. McCoy, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

22. J. B. Edwards says that in 1871 he delivered ice which had been cut from the Republican river to the eleven saloons and Drovers Cottage, for which he received six cents a pound "cash on the barrel head."—Interview with author, May 31, 1939.

23. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

McInerny's boot and saddle shop on Texas street employed as many as twelve or fifteen men at all times in the hand manufacture of saddles and boots, together with other articles of leather demanded by the cattle trade.²⁴

The city jail was the first stone building to be constructed in the city. At one time during its construction a band of cowboys rode in from their camps and demolished it. It was rebuilt under a guard.²⁵

The people of Abilene were of several well-defined types. First, there were the residents who stayed the year round. These included the business men, small-scale cattle buyers with their families, unmarried young men who had come to Abilene with varying means, hoping to improve their fortunes by some legitimate stroke of luck or business. With few exceptions these were people of the highest type who protested the carnival of crime and immorality brought by the Texans and bad characters who followed them to Abilene.²⁶

The larger part of the population in the summers was made up of the transient or seasonal type, consisting of speculators, commission men, cattle buyers, drovers, gamblers, prostitutes, and cowboys who came in the spring with the arrival of the first herds and dispersed in the fall to the larger cities and their homes in Texas. There also was the occasional terminus outlaw who drifted in unannounced from some mysterious place and on an unknown errand, stayed awhile, and left "between suns" following a shooting scrape, a few hours ahead of a posse, without announcing his destination.

The speculators, commission men and cattle buyers could be seen riding toward the prairies to inspect a newly arrived herd, at the yards looking over some cattle yarded and ready for shipment, on the veranda of the hotel, the platform of the railroad, or at the bar of a saloon, talking intently with some prospective vendor or customer.

The Texan drovers themselves were of three classes. There were the aristocratic Southerners who had been or whose ancestors had been slave owners. They came north by river and rail ahead of their herds and lived a life of ease and conviviality at Drovers Cottage. As a class they were candid and outspoken but at the same time sensitive. In money matters they were flush and free-spending, but at the same time were cautious and suspicious, and drove hard

24. J. B. Edwards, in an interview with the writer, May 31, 1939.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

bargains with cattle buyers. They were boisterous and profane, but also courteous and accommodating. They proclaimed to the world that "my word is as good as my bond," and proceeded to follow this maxim rather closely in their business dealings.²⁷

Another class of drovers to be found in Abilene during the summer was the class exemplified by the quiet, unassuming cattleman of smaller means who did not put on the display that his aristocratic compatriot did. They were not so inclined to be talkative, were more cautious, but did their business in a fair manner. As a rule they did not take part in the excesses offered in the questionable enterprises of Texas street as did their peers, and quite often their wives met them in Abilene later in the summer, coming by railroad.²⁸

A third type of drovers was those who had come to that station from various other callings. Some had been successful cowboys, legitimate and otherwise. Some were drovers for a season only. Others divulged very little about their past, and nobody ventured to press the point. This was the unruly group. They were the "gun toters" who set examples and encouraged the common cowboys in their riots of lawlessness.²⁹

The American cowboy has been dealt with from divergent angles. He has been the hero and the villain in both cheap and classic fiction, in song and in legend, in drama and in cinema. Too much glamour has been thrown about him. He was not the hero of the burlesque stage nor was he the drunken fighting terror of the dime novel. He was nothing more nor less than the average Westerner who fitted himself to the traits his life and business demanded.³⁰

The cowboy at the end of the northern drive was a distinct type, however. His routine on the range made an exacting demand on his powers of endurance. It meant that he might have to spend the larger part of a year without the comforts of a bed to rest from his labor or a roof over his head for protection from the elements. Much of his time was spent in the saddle, sometimes as much as two or three days at a time.³¹ After he had spent from thirty to sixty days on the trail in dust and heat, storms, high water, subsisting on coarse fare, he was ready for and deserved a little relaxation. When the herd was loaded or sold and he had drawn his pay he was ready

27. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-66.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67.

30. Charles Moreau Harger, "Cattle Trails of the Prairies," *Scribner's Magazine*, v. XI (June, 1892), p. 741.

31. Everett Dick, in "The Long Drive," *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, p. 56, says that the herds were driven and herded day and night for the first three or four days until they became accustomed to the trail.

to "open up." He generally started by securing a complete new outfit of clothes, from the fancy quilted-top tight-fitting dress boots with the conspicuous lone star in the tops, to the new Stetson "ten-gallon" hat. This latter article alone sometimes cost as much as seventy-five dollars. He removed the grime of the trail, visited a barber shop, then donned his new accoutrements (which included his guns, before the day of Tom Smith), and he was ready to begin his relaxation and vacation period. The institutions on Texas street catered to his worst passions. The saloons, gambling houses, dance halls, and houses of ill-fame flourished and thrived on his kind. He might become hilariously drunk, often becoming involved in a quarrel over money, a girl, or some matter deferred on the trip up the Chisholm trail,³² and it all too frequently ended in gunplay. In this condition the Texas cowboy was a dangerous character to meet. J. B. Edwards, a pioneer who lived in Abilene during the cattle trade, says:

When the Texan connected with the cattle trade got too much tanglefoot aboard he was extremely liable under the least provocation to use his navies [six-shooters]. In fact, if their fancy told them to shoot, they did so, in the air or at anything they saw, and a plug hat would bring a volley from them at any time, drunk or sober.³³

His intoxicated condition made him easy prey for the purveyors of sin, and in many instances within a week his entire substance was gone, and he was ready to return to his work on the plains.³⁴ Sometimes the cowboy sold his ponies or got an advance from his employer and returned to Texas by rail and water, and sometimes he rode his pony back down the trail with the chuck wagon and the cook.³⁵

The saloonkeepers and gamblers had some characteristics in common. Many times they were partners in the enterprise of extracting specie from the free-spending Texans. The former prepared the field and the latter reaped the harvest. The saloonkeepers were usually robust fellows, ready at all times to meet the emergency created by a "rough house." The gambler usually wore costly attire and gaudy jewelry. He maintained the expressionless "poker face" while at his work, and sauntered nonchalantly from place to place while at leisure. While the games of chance were supposed to be

32. According to Almon C. Nixon, in "Early History of Abilene," "Dickinson County Collections," v. VII, n. p., the agreement between the drover and the cowboy specified that all quarrels en route were to be deferred until the cattle were disposed of, hence many quarrels were matters which had originated on the trail.

33. J. B. Edwards, *ibid.*, v. VIII, n. p.

34. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

35. J. B. Edwards, in an interview with the writer, May 31, 1939.

conducted fairly, professional gamblers made use of the tricks of their trade on the liquor-befuddled Texans, and when this was detected gunplay was usually the result.³⁶

An examination of the minutes of the Abilene city council and the ordinances during this period reveals that the prostitutes who followed the cattle trade created a vexatious problem. These female vultures drifted in from Kansas City, St. Louis, Memphis, and like points, and seemed to be the flotsam from a disturbed social tide following the Civil War.³⁷ During the early days of the cattle trade they took up residence at various places in and near the business section. At one time some of these notorious places were located next to Texas street, just across from the schoolhouse.³⁸ Because of public opinion, they gradually migrated to the brothel district north of town. In the later years they were moved to a section adjoining the townsite on the southeast, which later became a part of the town under the name of Fisher's addition.³⁹ Here the colony was under police supervision, and an attempt was made to prevent the violent disorders that had occurred when the *demimonde* were outside the scope of law.

At rather indefinite intervals there arrived and departed such characters as Wes Hardin, Ben and Billy Thompson, Phil Coe, and the Clements boys, who were variously described as outlaws, cutthroats, desperadoes, gunmen, and like terms. They took part in the lawless life of Texas street and moved on when the fancy struck them or the circumstance deemed it advisable.⁴⁰

In addition to these classes of people there was a sprinkling of . . . rich men, notabilities, curiosity seekers, . . . amateurs of savage risks or rites, anxious to see life spiced up hot to tickle jaded palates, . . . sleek, well-dressed Wall Street brokers, . . . staff correspondents from important eastern dailies, . . .

who came West to see first hand what they had read about in the current fiction of the day.⁴¹

The problem of maintaining law and order in Abilene in the early days of the cattle trade was not a trying one, because little attempt was made to cope with the problem. There were regularly elected

36. "Dickinson County Collections," v. VIII, n. p.

37. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 121; J. B. Edwards, in an interview with the writer, May 31, 1939.

39. Often incorrectly referred to as "McCoy's addition," because McCoy was mayor of Abilene at the time.

40. Some of these men had different reputations in different cow towns. Streeter, in his *Prairie Trails and Cow Towns*, says that Ben Thompson had a good record in Abilene, but that he was a killer in other towns.

41. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 268.

county officers, but they made no serious effort to curb the lawlessness of the era.⁴² After failure, they waived the responsibility by regarding that type of affairs as outside their jurisdiction.

Before Abilene's incorporation, in 1869, the settlement of difficulties was largely a personal matter. Very seldom did a third party interfere in a quarrel. Sometimes the two litigants would retire to some more or less secluded area, and when both were ready they would start shooting. Stuart Henry says, "When you heard one or two shots, you waited breathlessly for a third. A third shot meant a death on Texas street."⁴³ Friends of the participants often witnessed these affrays, but so long as the general rules were observed there was no interference.⁴⁴

It was evident to the law-abiding citizens that municipal organization was necessary to bring order out of chaos, so on September 3, 1869, there appeared before the court of Cyrus Kilgore, probate judge of Dickinson county, Kansas, a deputation of citizens bearing a petition signed by forty-three citizens, "praying for incorporation."⁴⁵ Kilgore, after inspecting the document and finding it in order, granted the prayer and Abilene became an incorporated city of the third class. J. B. Shane, T. C. Henry, Thomas Sherran, T. F. Hersey, and J. G. McCoy were appointed by the court as trustees of the city until an election should choose a mayor and council. T. C. Henry was selected by the group as its chairman and the board carried out the functions of a mayor and council until May, 1871. Since the 1869 cattle trade was on the wane, very little was done to curb the lawless element that year. Some fundamental ordinances were passed, but there was very little attempt at administration and execution.⁴⁶

In the spring of 1870 the board of trustees met again and elected T. C. Henry as chairman and appointed W. Fancher, a teacher in the school, as secretary. Thirty-two saloons were licensed,⁴⁷ closing hours indicated, houses of ill-fame in the city limits were outlawed,⁴⁸ and an attempt was made to recognize and enforce laws

42. J. B. Edwards, in an interview with the writer, May 31, 1939.

43. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

44. Mathias Hoffman, "Early History of Abilene," "Dickinson County Collections," v. VIII, n. p.

45. "Petition for the Incorporation of Abilene, Kansas," in "Minutes of Board of Trustees, Abilene, Kansas," n. p.

46. T. C. Henry, "Address at Memorial Services for Tom Smith, May 30, 1904," in *The Kansas Historical Collections*, v. IX, p. 530.

47. In numbering thirty-two saloons, T. C. Henry probably included all stores retailing liquor. J. B. Edwards informed the writer that at no time were there more than twelve saloons in Abilene at the same time.

48. At this time the prostitutes migrated to the colony north of town.

against the more flagrant crimes and secure some semblance of decency. City offices were created, including that of the city marshal, and ordinances were published.⁴⁹

The particular ordinance which caused the most comment and turmoil was the one forbidding the carrying of firearms within the city limits. It was announced on large bulletin boards at all the important roads entering town. These were first looked upon with awe and curiosity, and only gradually was their significance comprehended.

Tom Smith, from Kit Carson, Colo., was one of the first to apply for the position of city marshal. He was rejected. Several local men were tried and found wanting, while conditions went from bad to worse. The cowboys insolently ridiculed the officers and the disregard for law continued. The posters upon which the ordinances were published were shot so full of holes that they became illegible.⁵⁰

Construction began on a city jail, but the cowboys tore it down, and it had to be rebuilt under a day-and-night guard. The first person to be incarcerated was a colored cook from one of the cattle camps near Abilene. A band of cowboys came to town, drove away the guards, forced the lock on the door and released the prisoner. They ordered the business houses to close, even riding into some stores and giving their orders from the saddle. They then rode out and proceeded to shoot up the town. A posse of citizens was formed and they were pursued. A few were captured and imprisoned. This, however, did not halt the aggressions of the cowboys. They continued their open flaunting of the law and the abuse of law-abiding citizens. Two men, recommended by the St. Louis chief of police, came and looked the situation over but returned to St. Louis by the next train. The job was too complex for them.

Finally the application of Tom Smith was reconsidered. He was made marshal at a salary of \$150 a month and two dollars for each conviction of persons arrested by him. J. H. McDonald was later selected as an assistant.⁵¹

Smith was of a reticent nature. Facts about his past were difficult to secure from him. It was known that he had had a prominent part in a riotous disorder in the railroad terminus of Bear River, Wyo., several years before. Afterward it was learned that at one time he had served on the New York City police force. He

49. T. C. Henry, *loc. cit.*, p. 528.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 529.

51. "Minutes of Abilene City Board of Trustees," June 4, 1870.

had served also in the capacity of marshal of several of the Union Pacific terminal towns.⁵²

Smith's first showdown in Abilene was with a cowboy desperado called "Big Hank," who refused to disarm and used abusive language in his refusal. Without argument Smith struck him a terrific blow, took his pistol away from him, and ordered him out of town.

To the cowboys this was a new method of combat. They did not understand the technique of fisticuffs.⁵³ Their pride was in the perfect execution of a "quick draw" and not a "right cross" to the chin. In the cattle camps the subject of Hank's treatment was discussed at length, and before morning a leader of the desperadoes known as "Wyoming Frank" wagered that he could defy the new marshal and his gun ordinance.

He came to town the next morning and ultimately met with Smith in the street. Smith walked toward him and asked him for his guns, which were being worn conspicuously. Frank backed slowly away, maneuvering for an advantage, and finally backed into the door of a saloon. Here they were surrounded by a crowd. Another request for his guns was answered profanely by Frank, and Smith placed him *hors de combat* with two smashes to the chin. He took Frank's guns away from him, beat him over the head with them, and told him to leave town and never return. Frank followed his instructions promptly.

The silence following this encounter was broken by the saloon proprietor, who stepped from behind the bar and said, "That was the nerviest act I ever saw. . . . Here is my gun. I reckon I'll not need it so long as you are marshal of this town." Others followed his example, and from that time Smith had very little trouble over the enforcement of the gun ordinance. Each business house had a sign which read, "You are expected to deposit your guns with the proprietor until you are ready to leave town." New arrivals soon found that this sign meant what it said.⁵⁴

The merchants, gamblers, saloonkeepers, and citizens were grateful for Smith's efficient work, and in August his salary was increased to \$225 a month, effective from the previous month.⁵⁵ A police court was set up and thereafter those convicted were given their

52. T. C. Henry, *loc. cit.*, pp. 527, 528, 531.

53. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

54. The episodes of "Big Hank" and "Wyoming Frank" have been drawn rather freely from T. C. Henry's address at the memorial service for Tom Smith, May 30, 1904, *loc. cit.*, pp. 527-532.

55. "Minutes of the Board of Trustees," August 5, 1870.

choice of paying the assessed fine, serving time, or leaving town permanently.⁵⁶

It seemed a peculiar irony of fate that Tom Smith should meet his death, not at the hands of the Texans, but by being murdered by two Scotch homesteaders by the names of Andrew McConnell and a Mr. Miles. On November 2, 1870, Smith and his assistant McDonald went to McConnell's dugout on Chapman creek to effect his arrest on charges in connection with the shooting of a neighbor, John Shea. McConnell refused to submit to arrest and Smith was shot. Miles, who was with McConnell, then nearly decapitated Smith with an ax. McConnell and Miles fled when McDonald returned for a posse, but they were captured later and sentenced to twelve and sixteen years, respectively, in the penitentiary.⁵⁷ Their captors, Judge C. C. Kuney and James Gainsford, were voted a reward of \$100 each by the city trustees.⁵⁸

On April 3, 1871, the first charter election was held for the purpose of electing a mayor and council. In the election J. G. McCoy was elected mayor and G. L. Brinkman, S. A. Burroughs, Dr. Lucius Boudinot, Samuel Carpenter, and W. H. Eicholtz were elected to the city council.⁵⁹ The main issue in the election seemed to be the degree of control that should be attempted over the vice and immorality in connection with the Texas cattle trade. C. H. Lebold was McCoy's opponent. An article in the *Abilene Chronicle*, after the election, stated:

Mr. Lebold was withdrawn as a candidate for mayor, although his chances were probably as good as any candidate on the track. Had his friends insisted on his name being printed upon the ballot he would have been elected—or, at least the result on mayor would have been different. The council is composed of some of our best citizens, and altogether the election resulted in a decided triumph for the order-loving citizens of Abilene. In fact, there are very few of our people opposed to good order. In point of morals and quietness the Abilene of today is as unlike the Abilene of two years ago as day is unlike the darkness of night. Our people are as intelligent and orderly as those of any other town or city in Kansas or elsewhere.⁶⁰

One of the first problems of the new administration was to find a marshal to replace Tom Smith. Such a task was highly important because a long stride had been made toward the establishment of order, and there was promise of a large Texas delegation for the coming cattle season. J. G. McCoy recommended the employment

56. "Dickinson County Collections," v. III, n. p.

57. *Abilene Chronicle*, March 23, 1871.

58. "Minutes of the Board of Trustees," March 11, 1871.

59. *Ibid.*, April 6, 1871; *Abilene Chronicle*, April 6, 1871.

60. *Ibid.*

of J. B. "Wild Bill" Hickok, and on April 15, 1871, he was unanimously chosen marshal⁶¹ at a salary of \$150 a month plus twenty-five percent of all fines in arrests made by him.⁶²

James Butler Hickok, popularly known as "Wild Bill," had acquired the reputation of being the best gunman in the West when he came to Abilene as marshal. Early in 1861 Hickok, then aged twenty-three, gained his first notoriety in the slaying of some members of the McCanles gang at the Rock Creek, Nebraska, stage station.⁶³ In another escapade at Hays, while he was acting as a peace officer, he was involved in the shooting of some drunken soldiers. Around him had been built many tales of dexterity in "two-gun" work, but no doubt many of these were exaggerations of the facts.⁶⁴

Hickok's appearance was striking. He was about six feet in height and 175 pounds in weight. He was well-made physically, graceful in movement, constantly alert, and cool while under fire. His brown wavy hair down to his shoulders, piercing gray-blue eyes, aquiline nose, and flowing mustache made him a figure to attract attention. His attire was expensive and showy. His shirts were of fine linen and his boots of the thinnest kid leather. His hands and feet were delicately molded. In manner he was generally quiet and amiable unless aroused. He was not a braggart and did not quarrel. In spite of this seemingly unassuming manner he was one who would attract attention in any gathering.⁶⁵

In his handling of the law-enforcement problem in the summer of 1871 he received much criticism. Some thought he spent too much time at the Alamo saloon and delegated too much work to his assistants. Some disliked his proneness to resort immediately to the use of firearms in the establishing of authority. It was true that he and Tom Smith were entirely different in their methods. Smith took no part in the immoral practices of the Texans. He carried guns but they were generally worn out of sight. His main stock in trade was physical courage. Hickok had the same weaknesses as the Texans, but he did not partake to excess. His "hip artillery" was always conspicuously worn. His main dependence was on his quick draw and accurate marksmanship. The admirers of Tom Smith were slow to give their praise to the new marshal.

61. "Minutes of the City Council," April 15, 1871.

62. "Book of Ordinances, Abilene, Kansas," April 19, 1871.

63. W. E. Connelley, "Wild Bill—James Butler Hickok," *Kansas Historical Collections*, v. XVII, pp. 17-19.

64. Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

65. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, pp. 276, 277.

On May 1, 1871, a comprehensive plan of licensing all business houses in Abilene was included in an ordinance by the city council.⁶⁶ This was an attempt to force the transient business enterprises to help defray the high cost of law enforcement. Since it was upon the Texas trade that those businesses thrived, it was logical that they should bear a share of the expense.

The bone of contention was in determining upon a license fee for saloons. Two councilmen, Samuel Carpenter and Dr. Lucius Boudinot, had been elected on a platform favoring a moderate saloon license fee of \$100 a year. Two others, G. L. Brinkman and W. H. Eicholtz, favored a \$200 fee, while the other, S. A. Burroughs, no doubt a disciple of John Marshall's "the power to tax is the power to destroy" theory, favored a prohibitive license fee of \$500. Thus the council was deadlocked. Mr. Burroughs finally switched to support the \$100 fee, but the council adjourned before action was taken.⁶⁷ At an adjourned meeting the \$200 men were in the plurality and the ordinance was passed with the saloon fee at \$200. This brought resignations from Boudinot and Carpenter. At the next meeting all were present except Mayor McCoy, and the resignations were accepted. The resigned members arose to leave, and Mr. Burroughs accompanied them without permission from the chair (a violation of rules of procedure). That left no quorum present, so the chairman *pro tempore*, Mr. Brinkman, ordered Marshal Hickok to go after Mr. Burroughs so they could order an election to fill the vacancies of Boudinot and Carpenter. Hickok brought Mr. Burroughs back, but no sooner was he inside the room than he bolted again and went to his law office next door. Chairman Brinkman ordered Marshal Hickok after the truant official again. Burroughs defiantly refused to accompany Hickok. Without further ado "Wild Bill" swung him across his shoulder, bore him to the council room, deposited him in a chair and stood guard while business proceeded and an election was ordered to fill the vacancies.⁶⁸

To complicate matters, in the special election to fill the vacancies created by Boudinot's and Carpenter's resignations, those two men were returned to office with a vote of confidence.⁶⁹ This turn of affairs was followed by the resignation of Eicholtz and Brinkman.⁷⁰

66. "Ordinances of the City Council," May 1, 1871; *Abilene Chronicle*, May 4, 1871.

67. "Minutes of City Council," April 30, 1871.

68. *Abilene Chronicle*, May 18, 1871; "Minutes of City Council," May 8, 1871.

69. In the campaign signed and attested articles appeared in the *Chronicle* by Boudinot and Carpenter to the effect that McCoy had approached them with a proposition whereby their personal friends could avoid the payment of the high fee.

70. "Minutes of City Council," May 31, 1871.

I. L. Smith and J. A. Gauthie were elected to replace them on a platform calling for a stricter enforcement of the ordinance against brothels.⁷¹ Political feeling ran high and unsigned articles appeared in the columns of the *Abilene Chronicle* which might result in libel action today.⁷²

This summer of 1871, true to expectations, brought to the streets of Abilene a large group of lawless people.⁷³ A number of special officers were appointed to assist "Wild Bill" Hickok. Among these were James Gainsford, one of the captors of Tom Smith's murderers; James McDonald, who had accompanied Smith to the cabin on his fatal mission; Thomas Carson, a nephew of Kit Carson, the famous scout; "Brocky Jack" Norton, who later served as a peace officer in Ellsworth and Newton; and Mike Williams, who was to be the victim of a tragic mistake by the guns of Marshal Hickok.

The prostitutes from the colony north of town had migrated to Texas street and vicinity. There were ordinances prohibiting their practices within the city limits, but they were ignored. Petitions signed by women and the responsible people of the city were presented to the council asking for the enforcement of the ordinances, but the council was slow to give an ear.⁷⁴ In the latter part of June a restricted zone was established on land adjoining the town-site and owned by George Fisher. Here the bawdy houses might be located where "shooting and stabbing and all-night life could be indulged in in full blast."⁷⁵

During the summer of 1871 an undercurrent of hard feelings had developed between Marshal Hickok and some Texans encouraged by Phil Coe and Ben Thompson, proprietors of the Bull's Head saloon. This feud came to a crisis on the evening of October 5. The end of the cattle season was nearing and some Texans were celebrating their departure with a farewell spree on the streets of the city.

They began their party on Texas street about sundown. They carried Jake Karatofsky to the Applejack saloon, where he was made to stand treats. This they did to other citizens they happened to find on the streets. They found "Wild Bill" in a boarding house

71. *Abilene Chronicle*, June 15, 1871.

72. An article appeared in the *Chronicle*, July 27, 1871, signed by "a citizen," stating that the writer had seen Mayor McCoy in a bagnio on the previous Saturday night with a harlot on each knee.

73. *Abilene Chronicle*, July, 1871.

74. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1871.

75. Stuart Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 278. This section was sometimes erroneously referred to as "McCoy's addition" because McCoy was mayor at the time it was established, but McCoy's addition refers to another addition to the townsite.

eating his supper. He would have no part in their pranks, but he sent them to the bar of the Novelty theater where they could get drinks at his expense.

About nine o'clock, while Hickok and his deputy, Mike Williams, were in front of the Novelty theater, a shot was heard around the corner on Cedar street. Bill hurried through the east door of the Alamo saloon and went quickly to the front, asking in a rough manner who had fired the shot. Phil Coe, at the front with pistol in hand, replied that he had shot at a dog. Without further questioning Hickok drew two revolvers and the two exchanged shots. Coe was mortally wounded while Hickok was not hit. Mike Williams, hearing the shooting, hurried around to the front of the saloon to aid the marshal. Bill, without recognizing Williams, shot him twice, and he died almost instantly. Coe lingered for several days and died in great agony.⁷⁶

There was high feeling over the shooting from both the Texan faction and the citizens, but it gradually subsided, as the cattle-trade season was about over for the year.

The opponents of the cattle trade were gaining in numbers. The residential section of Abilene was being built north of the railroad tracks, away from the lawless abandon of Texas street and Fisher's addition.⁷⁷

During this time that inevitable menace to all frontiers, agriculture, was growing. Farmers had been arriving in groups throughout 1870 and 1871. They established colonies from distinct states, hence the Buckeye colony in what later became Buckeye township; a Michigan colony, and a group from Illinois.⁷⁸

At the beginning of the 1871 season this agricultural group came to an agreement with the city of Abilene not to interfere with the cattle trade provided the farmers would be paid claims for domestic cattle lost by Spanish fever and for crops destroyed by the herds. James Bell, Ed Gaylord and T. C. Henry were appointed as a board of appraisers.⁷⁹ There is one record of the city council allowing claims which totaled \$4,041 to farmers.⁸⁰

During the winters of 1870-1871 and 1871-1872 there appeared articles in the *Chronicle* in defense and in criticism of the Texas cattle trade. On January 12, 1871, an article appeared, signed by

76. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-104.

77. This was the brothel district southeast of town.

78. Andreas, *op. cit.*, p. 686.

79. Abilene *Chronicle*, May 18, 25, 1871.

80. "Minutes of City Council," August 12, 1871.

"A. F.," complaining, in the name of the farmers and taxpayers, of the high taxes caused by the high cost of law enforcement. It also objected to the Texans pasturing cattle in the vicinity of Abilene and not being assessed for taxes.

An article on January 19, signed "Defendant," defended the cattle trade. It argued that the added expense of law enforcement should be met by a head tax on all cattle coming into the county.

Another article, which must have come from the hand of Mayor McCoy, was signed with the pseudonym "Ibex." It made this statement:

We are informed that when Abilene was first selected as a point to locate this trade, it was an obscure, dingy place, boasting of but one shingle-roofed building, the balance a half-dozen log huts, covered with dirt roofs. As a business place it boasted one little "whiskey battery," one eight-by-ten dry goods and grocery house, containing nearly three wheelbarrow loads of goods.⁸¹

In February, 1872, the movement materialized to a point where it spelled doom for the cattle trade at Abilene. A petition was drawn and circulated among the citizens of Dickinson county. About eighty percent of the citizens signed it. It read as follows:

We, the undersigned, members of the Farmers' Protective Association, and officers and citizens of Dickinson county, Kansas, most respectfully request all who have contemplated driving Texas cattle to Abilene the coming season to seek some other point for shipment, as the inhabitants of Dickinson will no longer submit to the evils of the trade.⁸²

From that time to the end of the cattle-driving era the Texan drovers sought other points from which to ship their herds. To the west on the Kansas Pacific, Ellsworth entertained the trade for a season. The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway was being extended to the southwest, and when it reached Newton that town became a drovers' terminus. The next year the A. T. & S. F. was built through Wichita and shipment of Texas cattle was made from that point.⁸³

The last of the turbulent cow towns was Dodge City, which claimed the title of "Cowboy Capital" from 1873 until the quarantine law of 1885 moved the dead line west to the Kansas-Colorado border. This marked the end of the cattle trails in Kansas. The "wild and wooly" terminal towns changed to peaceful centers of agricultural activity.

81. This newspaper article, published February 2, 1871, very closely resembles the oft-cited description of Abilene as McCoy first saw it, published in his *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* three years later.

82. T. C. Henry, *loc. cit.*, p. 532; *Abilene Chronicle*, February 22, 1872.

83. Robert Luther Duffus, *The Santa Fe Trail* (New York, 1930), p. 261. The Santa Fe railroad reached Dodge City September 19, 1872.

Today Texas cattle are brought to Kansas by the descendants of the drovers who came up the trails in the cow-town era. Among the herds which are yearly brought to the blue-stem pastures of the Flint Hills may be seen animals which have the marked characteristics of the Texas longhorn of the trail-driving era. The long drive has been replaced by rail and motor transportation.

What were formerly the lawless cow towns have grown into wholesome cities, and little of a physical nature remains to remind one of the Texas cattle era.

J. A. Walker's Early History of Edwards County

Edited by JAMES C. MALIN

I. INTRODUCTION

THERE are occasional instances where an early historical sketch of the beginnings of a community are of sufficient importance to justify reprinting. The one offered here fits the test—J. A. Walker's "Sketch of the History of Edwards County, Kansas."¹ In many respects the history was excellent and served as a source of supply for local historians for some time thereafter.² Necessarily, however, as the settlement had been in existence only five years, anything written so close to the events was lacking in perspective, but on the other hand, it preserved facts that almost certainly would otherwise have been lost completely. In fact, few Kansas communities have had the good fortune to have such a history written within five years of the beginnings. The years 1877 and 1878 offered a first false promise of prosperity to the pioneers who had come just prior to the panic of 1873, and whose cup of adversity had been filled to overflowing by drought and grasshoppers. Obviously Walker was writing for booming purposes and certain reticences were desirable concerning the starving period and local political frauds. For the modern reader it seems helpful therefore to provide some additional information by way of giving a setting for this pioneer account.

J. A. Walker, the author of the first history of Edwards county, was forty-three years of age when he came to Kansas in the spring of 1873. Born in New Hampshire, he had married a Vermont-born woman, but had lived in Massachusetts, which was the birthplace of his five children. He entered a soldier's homestead on Section 14, Township 24, Range 19, but supplemented his income by holding local office: Assessor of Kinsley township in 1875 and county clerk under the original county organization. On his farm he sowed seven and one-half acres of winter wheat in the fall of 1874 and twelve acres of corn in the spring of 1875. Two mules provided his farm power and two cows contributed to the support of the family.³

1. Published first in the *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, March 14, 28, 1878, under the title, "Views of Kinsley and Vicinity, and a Sketch of the History of Edwards County, Kansas." The views (pictures) are not reproduced here.

2. The *Kinsley Republican*, January 4, 1879, a rival paper, reprinted the most of the history, with some variations and without giving credit to Walker.

3. "Kansas State Census," Edwards county, 1875, in Archives division of the Kansas State Historical Society.

The Kansas climate has ever been a subject of discussion, but Walker kept careful records of rainfall at Kinsley from May, 1876, to November, 1877.

RAINFALL AT KINSLEY

May, 1876	..... Rain fell on 5 days	..... Total, 5.55 inches
June	..... 4	..... 2.75
July	..... 4	..... 0.75
August	..... 8	..... 2.50
September	..... 4	..... 2.62
October	..... 6	..... 2.25
November	..... 5	..... 0.42
December	..... 0	..... 0.00
January, 1877	..... 2	..... 0.38
February	..... 2	..... 0.56
March	..... 0	..... 0.00
April	..... 8	..... 3.55
May	..... 8	..... 8.73
June	..... 8	..... 4.19
July	..... 3	..... 1.25
August	..... 5	..... 2.75
September	..... 5	..... 1.00
October	..... 6	..... 4.06
November	..... 3	..... 0.73 ⁴

The rainfall of 1879 and 1880 was not as favorable, however, and much of the population migrated, among them Walker, who became an emigration agent of the Northern Pacific railroad, assigned to his native New England.⁵

In describing the beginnings of Kinsley a conspicuous place was given by Walker to the Chicago workingmen's colony and particularly to the Massachusetts colony, of which he was a member, sent out by the Homestead and Colonization Bureau of Boston. A more idealistic experiment was that of the Fraternal Home and Land Association of Philadelphia under the leadership of a Prof. J. R. Wentz, who arrived with his first contingent March 5, 1877, and established the seat of the colony, Freemansberg, southeast of Kinsley across the river and the main ridge of sand hills. Two other groups came in April and May, after which there were no further records of arrivals.⁶ The colony was designed upon some kind of mutual or coöperative plan by which Wentz thought workingmen with small capital might succeed in agriculture, but the details were not explained sufficiently in the local press to be enlightening. A

4. *The Valley Republican*, Kinsley, December 8, 1877.

5. *Kinsley Graphic*, January 1, 1881.

6. *Edwards County Leader*, April 12, May 17, 1877.

large colony house, 24 by 40 feet, with an ell wing 14 by 24 feet, was built by the first party. Plans were announced later for the building of sod houses, plastered inside and outside with lime, a means of overcoming the absence of timber on the plains for building materials and of giving more permanence than the ordinary unprotected sod house of the short grass country. The outcome is not known, as the press did not report further on this proposal. Wentz hoped to secure a steam plow for the use of his colony, but apparently failed. In fact, within a very short time the whole project collapsed, but here again the local press failed to report, and posterity is left without information on what became of the people who had been brought out from the Far East. It is even unknown whether there were any substantial number of city workingmen. The most interesting aspect of the experiment was the recognition at the outset, even though unsuccessful in their solution, of three of the most important problems involved in the adaptation of agriculture to the plains: A device to make available the advantages of adequate capital to the small farmer, native building materials which would free the plains from economic vassalage to the humid, timbered country, and mechanical farm power.

Other projects mentioned in the local papers were a Baltimore workingmen's association, and a French Catholic colony, but there is no evidence that any settlers were ever brought out under their auspices.⁷ More tangible were German colony associations credited to St. Louis, Cincinnati and western New York, and to the advertising activities of the German Emigration Society of Edwards county.⁸ The German settlements were mostly in the western and southern parts of the county, the first Germans being the Plags, father and sons, who settled south of Kinsley. The Kinsley *Graphic*, May 4, 1878, discussed the colony question in an editorial, saying that "as a rule they are successful failures. That is, as failures they are a success." This generalization was qualified only by admission of a limited success of colonization among Germans.

The organized-colony idea was a type of social idealism which was attractive to many people of that decade who were interested in social reform and the betterment of the condition of the poorer classes. Many of these schemes were designed to facilitate the migration of industrial workingmen of the East to Western agricultural lands.

7. For announcements see *ibid.*, September 13, 1877, and *The Valley Republican*, Kinsley, January 26, 1878.

8. *The Valley Republican*, Kinsley, November 10, December 15, 1877; January 5, 1878. *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, October 4, 1877; February 14, September 5, 1878. *Kinsley Graphic*, September 7, 1878.

The Chicago and Massachusetts enterprises were launched in 1872, prior to the panic and depression which began in 1873, but neither transplanted industrial workers. The Chicago association appears not to have sent any settlers except the location committee, and the Massachusetts colonists were mostly farmers. After the depression set in there is no record of additional colonists sent out by the Massachusetts organization and later census records show that very few came from that area. None of the projects originating in the depression period resulted in migration. Exceedingly few individual settlers came during the depression period proper. This is only another historical illustration of the fact that the frontier did not serve as a safety valve through which the problems of recurrent American depressions were solved. On the contrary, the evidence of population movement is conclusively in the opposite direction, and the locals in the Kinsley newspapers made frequent mention of the return to the East of those who turned their faces toward their old homes.

The establishment of the neighboring town of Offerle near the western edge of the county was mentioned by Walker. Lawrence Offerle and his sons were among the most influential, if not the dominant members in the early life of the community, operating a general store as well as agricultural enterprises. The post office called Belpre near the eastern edge of the county was established as early as 1879, but the town was not laid out until the railroad was built south of the river in 1886. The origin of Nettleton is not indicated, but during the winter of 1876-1877 John Fitch, of Hyde Park, Ill., settled there and undertook to promote the place in a big way. His house, intended for a hotel, was reported to have been 28 by 42 feet and three stories above a full basement, and illuminated by gas manufactured on the premises. A three-story mill was built, with equipment for grinding flour, feed and for shelling corn. The plan was to use wind power, but the windmill was supplemented by a steam engine. In 1877 Fitch raised corn, barley, millet, sweet potatoes, cabbage, tomatoes and other products, and became postmaster and railroad station agent. There seemed to be no limit to his ambitions and energy. Disaster pursued him, however, his wife dying in March and he being killed in an accident in July, 1878. His estate was liquidated the following year and Nettleton (Fitchburg) soon fell into obscurity.⁹

9. *The Valley Republican*, Kinsley, November 3, 1877; January 12, March 30, 1878. *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, September 20, December 20, 1877; March 7, August 15, 1878. *Kinsley Republican*, February 15, 1879.

As most of the county lay south and east of the Arkansas river, the bridging of that stream was an essential public improvement. The bonds were voted by the county July 29, 1876, and the structure was reported completed in March, 1877. The contractors had used timbers shorter than specified in the contract, and defective material, even after it had been condemned, had been built into the bridge. The county declined to accept the bridge until alterations had been made to increase its strength and efficiency, and until concessions had been made in the cost.¹⁰ In a later report the county commissioners stated that of the \$12,000 worth of bonds voted, \$9,000 had been sold at 87½ net, yielding \$7,875, of which \$484.13 was still on hand.¹¹ The weakness of the bridge was not remedied in full, evidently, because in March, 1881, eleven of the twenty spans were washed out, requiring another \$2,000 to make repairs and reopen it to traffic.¹²

The brick school building at Kinsley was constructed of local materials and was a source of pride when it was built at the cost of \$4,400. At first only two rooms were finished; the undivided second floor, 35 by 50 feet, was used as a public hall. On April 30, 1877, the women of the community celebrated the completion by holding a community supper, social and dance.¹³ During the first term only the east room on the main floor was used, but before the winter passed, complaints were made because of crowding 75 children into one room, and the school was closed February 1 for a two months' vacation, during which the school board proposed to seat and furnish the west room. On April 1 a three months' spring term was scheduled to open.¹⁴ School teaching must have been a relatively strenuous profession in those days as some of the children carried firearms and practiced using them during recesses and on the way to and from school. The editor of the *Republican* protested in June, and again in September, 1878, appealing to the parents for coöperation in terminating the practice and warned that in case of failure arrests would follow.¹⁵

City pride in the school building was soon dissipated when the walls cracked and crumbled. In 1887 it was torn down, the local

10. *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, March 29, 1877.

11. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1877.

12. *Kinsley Graphic*, March 5, July 23, 1881.

13. *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, April 19, May 3, 1877. Walker's history gave the size of the building as 35 by 40 feet, and stated that there were four rooms. Possibly the upper rooms were finished the second year.

14. *The Valley Republican*, Kinsley, January 19, February 2, 1878.

15. *The Kinsley Republican*, September 21, 1878.

paper commenting that the work was proceeding rapidly because the bricks were loose from the mortar:

The tearing down of the old central school building discloses a rascally piece of work on the part of the contractor who built it. Thousands of brick in the walls never were burned at all. They are simply mud bricks. . . . Anyone who will put such brick in the walls of a public school building deserves a term in the legislature.¹⁶

Of the eighty-five families in Edwards county in 1875, seventy-five had taken land and, according to occupation, the landed families were distributed as follows: Fifty-two farmers; five carpenters; three painters; nine other trades represented by one each (hotel-keeper, lawyer, mason, millwright, shoemaker, surveyor, clerk, chair-maker, railroad agent) and six with no occupation designated.¹⁷ Of the ten families in the county without land, two were listed as farmers, five other trades represented by one each (railroad agent, printer, bricklayer, carpenter, painter) and three with no occupation designated.

According to land tenure, of the seventy-two for whom records are available, twenty-six (about 36%) had made preëmption entries, five (about 7%) homestead entries, thirty-seven (about 51%) soldiers' homestead entries, two timber claim entries, and three men apparently had bought land outright. In one case a man had filed on both a soldier's homestead and a timber claim. Conspicuously, these first settlers took government, not railroad land, and therefore it was the liberal land laws and particularly the soldiers' homestead law that served as the original attraction in this particular instance. The further indication of the drift of land occupation was announced from time to time by summaries of locations made by the local real-estate agents. Thus, for the month of March, 1877, the record stood: Preëmption, eleven; homestead declaratory, seventeen; homestead entries, eight; timber culture, thirteen.¹⁸ On May 3, 1878, the *Edwards County Leader* remarked that five-eighths of the available acreage was government and the remainder Santa Fe railroad land. Near the end of April, 1877, the report was that more than one hundred persons had settled over the river and all government land was taken along the Comanche county road southward to within a few miles of the Rattlesnake.¹⁹ By the end of the year a similar

16. *The Kinsley Weekly Mercury*, August 18, 1887.

17. "Kansas State Census," 1875. Single adults were counted as families for census purposes.

18. *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, April 5, 1877.

19. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1877.

report was published regarding government land between Kinsley and the Sawlog or South Fork of the Pawnee.²⁰

The state census data of 1875 show an average age for eighty farm operators of 36.5 years, and for their wives of thirty-four years. The age distributions are given in the table and show comparatively few in the twenties, the largest group being in the thirties, although twenty percent of the men were forty-five or above, or almost exactly the same proportion as were below thirty. The eldest was sixty-five and the youngest man or woman was twenty-two. The separation of single from married men emphasizes that sixteen of the nineteen in the twenty-year-old group were single and that twenty-seven of the thirty-five of the thirty-year-old group were married. In other words, the permanent backbone of this frontier was not young married couples starting life and expecting to grow up with the country, but rather middle-aged people with families. Twenty-nine families had sixty-two children of their own, or about two per family, besides a total of five other children being raised in these families.

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARM OPERATORS AND WIVES

Age Groups	Farm Operators	Women	Single Men	Married Men
21-24	10	7	9	0
25-29	9	6	7	3
30-34	20	15	7	13
35-39	15	11	1	14
40-44	10	4	3	7
45-49	3	1	0	3
50-54	5	2	2	3
55-59	5	1	3	2
60+	3	1	0	3
	80	48	32	48

The sources of Edwards county population as of 1875 were somewhat unusual. Of seventy men whose place of birth was recorded thirty-four were born in New England, mostly in upper New England, and nineteen of the forty women. The next largest groups were from the North Atlantic states, and foreign born from Germany, England and Ireland. Forty-eight of the seventy men came to Kansas from New England, particularly from Massachusetts as their place of last residence, and the next largest group, seventeen in number, came from the North Central states east of the Mississippi river. Only three of the sixteen foreign born came direct from the

20. *The Valley Republican*, Kinsley, December 15, 1878.

country of birth, and nineteen of fifty-four native-born men and eleven of thirty women came direct from their birth states.

The agricultural schedules of the county for the census of 1875 recorded the crop program of seventy-two farms. Of these, sixty-four farmers planted corn that spring, averaging thirteen acres each; twenty-six farmers averaged eight acres each of winter wheat planted in the fall of 1874 and one farmer planted spring wheat in 1875; sixteen farmers planted barley and twelve planted oats, in each case an average of three acres. Of other crops, three farmers planted rye and one farmer each planted sorghum, millet, potatoes and sweet potatoes. On ten farms orchards had been started. Unquestionably, corn was the predominant crop, and twenty-five farmers planted nothing else, the corn acreages on these farms ranging from three to ten acres. Even if the season had been favorable, which it was not, the county would not have produced enough grain to feed itself.

The livestock equipment of these farms consisted of seventy-eight horses distributed among thirty-eight operators, supplemented by eight mules on five farms; sixty cows scattered among twenty-nine owners; seventy-two other cattle among twenty-six owners; and twenty-nine hogs among eleven owners. Four farmers owned sheep, but most of the 419 sheep and 1,270 pounds of wool were credited to two men. No livestock of any kind was listed on twenty-five farms. Three farmers reported poultry or eggs sold, and eight a total of 830 pounds of butter made during the preceding year. Clearly, the meat supply was as deficient as the grain supply.

Although the dollar figures for the value of machinery equipment of farms may not be reliable, yet their general significance is inescapable. Thirty-five farmers reported no machinery, while thirty-seven reported an average value of about \$26. The total value of personal property listed was \$10,952 distributed among forty-nine farmers, the smallest being \$5 and the largest \$834, with an average of \$226. Twenty-one listed no personal property. In view of the deficiencies in other respects this item was more favorable than might be expected, as twenty-five of the whole number reported \$200 worth or over.

During the first winter after the main bodies of colonists arrived (1873-1874) many were destitute. Appeals were made to the President of the United States for aid to be distributed from army stores at Fort Larned, but requests were denied as congress had not pro-

vided supplies for that purpose. Gov. Thomas A. Osborn wrote to one group of settlers under the date of December 20, 1873, saying that he understood that a local relief board was functioning at Petersburg under the direction of Capt. P. H. Niles, who would give aid in case of necessity. No further information has been forthcoming regarding this situation, but the reference to Niles suggests that possibly the source of funds was the Boston organization which had sponsored the Massachusetts colony.

In the season of 1874 the drought, followed by the grasshopper scourge, added to the distress which would in all probability have been serious enough in this primitive plains settlement because the nation as a whole was in the depths of economic depression. A state relief committee as well as the federal government through the various army posts distributed food, clothing and coal. On December 13, 1874, C. L. Hubbs, who had been appointed by Governor Osborn to act in Edwards county, reported to the governor that fifty-nine persons were in need. In view of the fact that there were only 234 persons in the county, this would indicate that one-fourth of the population was on the list. The Santa Fe railroad advanced seed wheat in the fall of 1874 to settlers along its line, allowing a maximum of fifteen bushels per farm. Not until 1876 did the county begin to show signs of recovery, but by 1877 immigrants were coming into the region in large numbers.²¹

It is evident that the organization of Edwards county was accomplished by means of a fraudulent census, and for some reason it was allowed to stand, although the legislature declined to seat the representative until 1877. Without rivers to afford natural facilities for transportation, the railroad had been the necessary preliminary to settlement as applying to the whole sub-humid West. That fact has been rather generally recognized by historians, but an equally important one not clearly understood is that so small a population and so little property could not have maintained either the settlement itself or a local government had it not been for the railroad. In 1877 J. A. Walker called attention to the distribution of property holdings in the county. The railroad valuation constituted over eighty-six percent of the whole.

21. Official correspondence concerning relief is found in "Correspondence of Kansas Governors" (Archives division, Kansas State Historical Society). The records of the Kansas Central Relief Committee, 1874-1875, in the possession of the Historical Society, contain material on the relations of that organization to Edwards county.

TAXABLE PROPERTY OF EDWARDS COUNTY, 1877

Santa Fe railroad and its subsidiary the Arkansas Valley Town Co...	\$380,000
Business men.....	10,000
Nonresidents	10,000
Residents	40,000
	<hr/>
	\$440,000

Nonresident property was negligible and resident property was mostly personal rather than real estate and was mostly lost to taxation because of legal exemptions. It was pointed out that homesteaders would avail themselves of the maximum time of seven years to prove up and take patents and only then would their land become taxable. Preëmtors would take advantage of the grasshopper law which extended the time for making payments so that such land would not generally become taxable until 1879.²² There is probably no exaggeration therefore in the contemporaneous statement that the railroad took "the burden of the taxes off the farmers and producers. The company pays about 95 percent of the taxes."²³

The particular occasion for bringing this situation out into the open was the controversy over the voting of bonds for a courthouse and jail. An "Old Settler" argued that there were not enough people; that the most of the county lay across the river and the settlers had not been there long enough to qualify for voting; and that later it might be desirable to remove the county seat to some point across the river nearer the center of the county.²⁴ The answer of Kinsley to any suggestion of taking the county seat across the river requires no comment. The editor of the *Leader* advocated forcefully the cause of the courthouse, insisting that rentals and expense of transporting prisoners to Great Bend would meet the interest on the necessary bonds. Referring to the voting of bonds for the bridge, he stated:

Then, as well as now, the greater part of the taxes in Edwards county was paid by the railroad land company, and it was expected that said company would object to the building of a bridge until the prospects looked more favorable but not so, when counseled, they said build your bridges, make your improvements throughout the county, and although we pay the bulk of the taxes, all we want is clean hands, economy and no stealing on the part of county officials.

On the courthouse question he declared:

We have no fears of the railroad land company objecting and if they do not, why should we. It will be a long time before those who have taken Govern-

22. *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, July 26, 1877.

23. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1877.

24. *Ibid.*, May 24, 1877.

ment land or before those that may take, will have to prove up and in the meantime the railroad company will be taxed from year to year for the payment of the bonds issued, and many of the old settlers as well as the new ones will find when the proper time comes for proving up their claims, that by the judicious management of our county officials, in the year 1877, that the public buildings have all been erected and that they are in possession of good farms with no taxes to pay for such improvement.²⁵

No statement has been found from an official of the Santa Fe railroad or of its subsidiary land company, and there is no means of knowing whether the editor of the *Leader* may have been under obligations to the company and may have been speaking under inspiration, but however that may have been, all of the independent facts available point to the conclusion that the general picture of the situation was essentially true, although in specific detail it may have been overstated.²⁶ J. A. Walker's statement was that rentals and other expenses were costing \$1.13 per thousand, while the direct levy would be about \$1.82 per thousand, or a net increase in taxes of 69 cents per thousand.²⁷ The county treasurer's printed statement of the tax rate for 1877 was:

For state of Kansas.....	0.55
Edwards county	1.00
Kinsley township	0.15
Trenton township	0.10
County poor	0.10
Bridge bonds	0.20
School district No. 1	1.10
School district No. 1 bonds.....	0.40
School district No. 2	1.00
School district No. 2 bonds.....	0.60
School district No. 3	1.60
School district No. 4	0.50
School district No. 5	1.30 ²⁸

On petition of July 7, the county commissioners ordered an election to be held August 4, 1877, on the question of the issuance of \$8,000 in courthouse and jail bonds. The proposition was defeated, and apparently very badly, because the *Leader* recorded the momentous event with a three-line local and a cut of a sick rooster, but no figures or comment.²⁹

On the basis of experience, the agricultural system was under-

25. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1877.

26. Most of the county records burned in a town fire in 1879 so that the author has not been able to verify specific figures given except as they appear in the public prints. Some of these seem contradictory in detail, but without changing the larger aspects of the matter.

27. *Edwards County Leader*, Kinsley, July 26, 1877.

28. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1877.

29. *Ibid.*, July 19, August 9, 1877.

going some modification and especially with the temporary turn of more favorable climatic conditions. As the following table shows, winter wheat increased rapidly, but as time was to demonstrate, not in fulfillment of hopes for this crop. The Early Red May, a soft wheat, did not prove altogether successful, although it was the best variety then given any widespread trial in the area. Spring wheat and barley had a substantial following, but oats made comparatively little headway. Clearly, corn was still the principal crop in the county. Among the new crops that showed promise were millet, broomcorn and sorghum. This early experiment with sorghum was significant, because it was not a native of the Western hemisphere, had been introduced only recently, and was soon to prove one of the most reliable of the Plains crops. It is evident that by 1878 only the beginnings had been made in the baffling problem, still only partially solved, of adaptation of the agricultural system to the sub-humid environment.

ACREAGE IN FIELD CROPS, EDWARDS COUNTY, 1875-1878³⁰

CROP	1875	1876	1877	1878
Winter wheat	202	524	704	2,205
Spring wheat	4	39	283	1,460
Oats	39	65	148	504
Barley	46	158	529	1,273
Corn	855	1,229	1,770	2,908
Sorghum	0.5	18	41	73
Broomcorn	0	2	32	47
Millet and Hungarian	0	21	123	724

II. J. A. WALKER'S EARLY HISTORY OF EDWARDS COUNTY

The first recorded account of the territory now embraced in Edwards county, Kansas, is no doubt found in an old book edited by Moses, and brought to this country in the *Mayflower*, by John Bradford, several copies of which are still believed to be extant in Kansas. Nothing more is certainly known of the country until about the middle of the sixteenth century, when Coronado, with a band of Spanish adventurers raided through it in search of the land of Havileh, where there is gold referred to by Moses. Failing to penetrate far enough west, he sadly retraced his steps, and for three hundred years this country remained a *terra incognita*.

[In the] summer of 1846 Gen. Kearney, with twenty-seven hundred men, marched over these "desolate plains," and took possession of Santa Fe. In May, 1854, congress erected . . . the

30. *First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture* (Topeka, 1878), p. 198.

territory of Kansas.³¹ The territorial legislature of Kansas in 1860 provided that all the territory west of the 6th principal meridian, and south of township 18 be known as "Peketon county." In 1867 the legislature blotted Peketon county from the map and formed other counties out of its territory, among which was Pawnee county, which embraced thirteen townships of what is now Edwards county.

In the summer of 1871 the A., T. & S. F. R. R. made preliminary survey for the location of the road through Pawnee and counties west, and the railroad was completed to where Kinsley, Edwards county, now is, about the 1st of August, 1872. During this month a committee representing the "Chicago Workingmen's Colony," among whom were Dr. Sam'l G. Rodgers, Col. C. N. Pratt and Robt. McCanse, selected this as the location of their colony, and named it Petersburg, in honor of one of the directors (T. J. Peters) of the A., T. & S. F. R. R., and in October following united with the people of Larned in a petition to the governor to take steps looking to the organization of Pawnee county. F. C. Hawkins, of Larned, was appointed census taker and was believed to have enrolled every man in the county. In November an election was held resulting in the outgeneraling of Doctor Rodgers by the Larned people, and the election of Larned men to fill all the offices. Undismayed, Doctor Rodgers proceeded with his improvements and on the 5th day of December, 1872, the cornerstone of the Buffalo house (the structure now known as the Kinsley hotel) was laid in ample form by Doctor Rodgers and Robt. McCanse, between where now is Parker's blacksmith shop and the railroad track, and the building approached completion as rapidly as the Doctor could get trusted for material. About this time the railroad company established a telegraph office at the tank three miles west of Petersburg and Fred. Gardner, the present handsome, efficient and justly popular station agent at Kinsley, was installed as operator; about this time also A. D. Clute was prospecting about Petersburg, having become a member of the "Workingmen's colony." In February, 1873, the telegraph office and operator were removed to Petersburg, and the Buffalo house had been sided, and on March 10th, 1873, Messrs. M. D. Hetzel and A. D. Clute occupied it (it was already open, being *sans* roof, doors and windows) as a hotel, and the railroad trains stopped at Kinsley for meals.³² Mrs. Clute was hostess, and Messrs. H. & C. soon had

31. The omission is an erroneous description of the boundary.

32. The railroad ran through the townsite diagonally from northeast to southwest, and the depot was north of the track at the head of Sixth street. The first buildings were also on the north side near the depot and to the northward opposite the courthouse square.

doors and windows to the house, partitions inside, a bridal chamber, hung with tapestry (?) and a roof upon the house and presently a hotel second to none other west of Topeka for the quality and variety of its *cuisine* and for courteous attention to guests—exit Doctor Rodgers.

Prior to the building of the Buffalo house, Sam'l E. Fay and family had come to this country and had located near Nettleton and are now living on the section 6, town 24, range 18, and may properly be considered the oldest inhabitants of Edwards county. One of their children was buried near Nettleton in October, 1872.

In March, 1873, Messrs. Wentworth, E. K. Smart, T. L. Rodgers, E. W. Griggs and W. F. Blanchard, representing the Massachusetts colony, from Boston, located the colony at Petersburg, and built three colony houses near the railroad track, just west of where the Kinsley house now stands. Morrison, of Grasshopper Falls, built a two-story structure just north of the Buffalo house, and N. C. Boles, now postmaster of Hutchinson, opened out a stock of drugs, and was appointed postmaster. There being one postoffice named Petersburg in Kansas, this office was named Peters. Subsequently, Boles sold out to J. W. Jenkins, who put in a stock of groceries and on the resignation of Boles, succeeded him as postmaster. Jenkins razed the building and it is now doing duty at the corner of Marsh and Sixth street. W. F. Blanchard and F. C. Blanchard built houses on section 8, town. 25, range 19, the first frame dwelling houses built in Edwards county. T. L. Rodgers built a store on the south side of the track and opened out a stock of groceries. Subsequently he removed across the track and enlarged his store, ultimately selling out to Wm. Emerson. E. K. Smart opened up a lumber yard, which he subsequently sold out to W. C. Edwards. Wentworth settled in Harvey county, and E. H. Griggs returned to Boston. In April, 1873, a goodly number of colonists arrived, among whom were Capt. Niles, N. L. Humphrey, F. H. Fall, H. P. Merwin, John A. Brothers, J. T. North, F. C. Badger, M. Moar, L. W. Higgins, Briggs Monroe, J. H. Murphey, Robert Henderson, C. N. Bonner, L. H. Dudley, J. A. Walker, Jas. Wilson, Frank Spring, Jr., many of them with families, and with the exception of F. H. Fall, still stick.

In May, 1873, the townsite of Petersburg was surveyed and plat[t]ed and W. C. Knight erected the first dwelling house at the corner of Third street and Colony avenue north, now owned and occupied by Capt. J. A. Freeland. The legislature having readjusted

the boundaries of Pawnee county in March, 1873, and left thirteen townships out in the cold, unattached to any county or judicial district, "We, the people" of these thirteen townships, organized themselves as a city of the third class and elected F. H. Fall, mayor, J. A. Walker, Fred Gardner, M. D. Hetzel, T. L. Rodgers and W. B. Pattison, councilmen, M. Moar, police judge, and Robert McCanse, marshal, which organization was maintained until this territory was attached to the 9th judicial district the winter following—the courts *adjudicated* but two cases during that time and the organization levied no taxes and paid its own expenses. F. H. Fall went "west to grow up with the country" June 30. The city was named Peter's City, in honor of Capt. Peter H. Niles, resident agent of the New England Homestead and Colonization Bureau (which had succeeded to the effects of the Massachusetts colony) and agent for the sale of the railroad land. Taylor Flick, Esq., the pioneer lawyer of the county, made the first entry of government land in the county and subsequently bought the railroad interest in the townsite.

In June, 1873, Col. C. N. Pratt, interested alike in the Workingmen's colony and the Massachusetts colony, came to Petersburg as the representative of Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, a wealthy lady of New York and sister of Geo. W. Rowell, now of this county, proposing to build a hall for the use of the citizens, Mrs. Thompson contributing therefor the sum of \$1,500 and the railroad company giving the lot. The hall was built and was subsequently used as a schoolroom and for public uses, but through some misunderstanding she finally deeded it to her nephew, Alonzo Rowell, who ultimately sold it and it was converted into a hotel, the present Eureka house, now under the popular management of W. F. Blanchard.³³

A meeting of citizens was held and it was voted that the name of Petersburg should be changed to Kinsley, in honor of Hon. Ed. W. Kinsley, of Boston.³⁴ In September, 1873, Mrs. A. L. McGinnis, sister to Mrs. W. F. Blanchard and F. C. Blanchard, issued the first number of the *Kinsley Reporter*, a spicy little newspaper which she continued to publish until it was merged into the *Edwards County Leader*, W. T. Bruer purchasing her press and type in January, 1877. Mrs. McGinnis also succeeded J. W. Jenkins as post-

33. In 1877 the Eureka house stood on Massachusetts avenue, between Third and Fourth streets.—Advertisement in the *Edwards County Leader*, March 29, 1877.

34. The first and apparently the only visit of Kinsley to the town bearing his name was described in a local item in the *Kinsley Graphic*, May 18, 1878. He was in town a few hours on May 16, and the *Graphic* reported: "Mr. Kinsley is a true type of the busy, bustling sociable Bostonian."

master, a position she still holds; she also taught the first school in the county, beginning in September, 1873, and continuing three months. Her school numbered ten pupils.

In the fall of 1873, Geo. W. Rowell, his son Alonzo, and his daughter, wife of Marion Sowards, and their families, with several other families, arrived by teams from Wisconsin, C. L. Hubbs from Minnesota, and later Geo. H., his brother, with their families, by railway. A. L. Kendall also made his first appearance.

Taylor Flick, Esq., Robert McCanse, Capt. P. H. Niles and C. L. Hubbs interested themselves in the winter in having the legislature erect these thirteen townships, with such others as could be had, into a county, and the legislature formed these townships, together with four others on the south, into a county which they named Edwards, in honor of W. C. Edwards, of Hutchinson, and senior partner of the present house of Edwards Bros., at Kinsley.

In May, 1874, a movement was set on foot to obtain an organization of the county, and Robert McCanse was appointed by the governor as census-taker. [On] July 10, 1874, he made his return reporting only 301 inhabitants; the law requiring not less than 600 inhabitants to perfect an organization. This spring (1874) Major Geo. Bill of Wisconsin, added materially to the prosperity and population of the county, himself and family numbering twelve souls. Several enterprising Germans also took claims seven or eight miles south of Kinsley, among whom were Wm. Plag, Jr., his father and two brothers.

Mr. D. Hetzel sold out his hotel interest to Mr. Clute, and became a first-class "granger," having one of the best farms in the valley.

John A. Brothers sowed some spring wheat and raised the first wheat in Edwards county, and was the only man in Edwards county who "breaded" himself from his crop that grasshopper season.

Some of the citizens being dissatisfied with the result of McCanse's enumeration of inhabitants in Edwards county petitioned the governor for the appointment of another census-taker, and through the influence of C. L. Hubbs another enumeration was made, and returns made in August, 1874, of 633 inhabitants. This latter enumeration is believed to have been *all* the men, women and children in Edwards county at that time. The governor issued his proclamation and appointed C. L. Hubbs, N. L. Humphrey, G. W. Wilson, commissioners, and J. A. Walker, clerk, August 21, 1874.

This summer "Lo" was on the war path, and a squad of soldiers under Lieut. Campbell, U. S. A., were stationed near the depot.

The Congregational church was organized with eleven members, and assistance promised from Boston, in building a church, which was subsequently fulfilled by the building of the present church edifice. The first preaching in the county was at the Buffalo house, Sunday, June 1, 1873, Rev. S. D. Storrs officiating.

In September, 1874, the foundation of the brick block of Edwards Bros., was laid and the building was completed during the winter.³⁵ It was not occupied as a store by the Edwards Bros., until March, 1876, the grasshopper raid and the Indian war having retarded the growth of the county at least two years. In October, 1874, the citizens organized a militia company under the laws of Kansas, and October 21, Capt. Emerson was commissioned captain, Geo. H. Hubbs, first lieutenant, and T. L. Rodgers second lieutenant. They were not called into active service.

At the November election in 1874 the regular county officers were chosen. C. L. Hubbs, representative, over A. L. Kendall, his competitor, 46 votes to 35 for Kendall; T. L. Rodgers, John A. Brothers, F. C. Blanchard, commissioners; Wm. Emerson, county clerk; E. A. Boyd, treasurer; L. W. Higgins, register of deeds; Jonas Woods, clerk of the district court; V. D. Billings, sheriff; J. S. Perry, coroner; W. C. Knight, superintendent of public instruction; Taylor Flick, county attorney; M. Moar, probate judge; Frank A. White, county surveyor. C. L. Hubbs failed to obtain his seat as a representative, but was admitted as a delegate in the legislature.

The original board of county commissioners divided the county into three townships, naming them, respectively, Kinsley, Trenton and Brown—the latter having but nine votes and no immediate prospect of an increase, the new board of county commissioners attached Brown township to Trenton and made but two townships: Kinsley and Trenton. Late in the session of the legislature Mr. Hubbs obtained the passage of a law defining the boundaries of Brown township in Edwards county and the board of county commissioners promptly re-adjusted the township lines and again divided the county into two townships still leaving Brown township a part of Trenton.

The Roman Catholic church perfected an organization, Father F. P. Swemberg officiating.

The march of improvement was not rapid in 1875 for causes stated. Ten townships had been added to the south of the county

35. The Edwards Bros. brick store was south of the track and in the first block east of the Sixth street crossing on the northeast corner of the block at Sixth and Marsh.

by the legislature, and a term of court had been established also beginning in June, 1875. Litigation had been mildly begun before the justices of the peace, the first civil case being Emerson vs. Niles, before D. P. Daniel, justice of the peace of Trenton township, followed immediately by a criminal case: State of Kansas vs. Emerson, before J. A. Walker, justice of the peace, of Kinsley township. Prior to the organization of Edwards county it was attached to Pawnee county for judicial purposes.

Upon the establishment of a district court for Edwards county, cases arising in Edwards county and then pending in the district court of Pawnee county were transferred to the docket of the district court of Edwards county. The civil cases of C. L. Hubbs vs. A. S. Simmons, and A. L. Kendall vs. A. S. Simmons, and the criminal case of State of Kansas vs. S. B. Hames, were those transferred and came up for hearing at the June term of 1876, Hon. S. R. Peters, judge. The Buffalo house was removed from its original location (having previously been sold, under the foreclosure of the numerous liens for lumber and labor existing upon it, to W. C. Edwards and A. D. Clute), to its present location and by the owners extensively improved and re-christened the Kinsley house, in [the] spring of 1875.³⁶

Late this fall (1875) or in the winter of (1875-'6) Messrs. Otts, Offerle and others, substantial and enterprising citizens of Henry county, Illinois, prospected the county and fixed upon the present site of Offerle as a desirable point at which to start a town, and in the spring, 1876, made a beginning, the result of which cannot but be flattering to their wisdom, judgment and sagacity. J. W. Edwards was subsequently appointed postmaster. Some of the finest farms and most substantial farmers in the great Arkansas valley are located about and near Offerle.

During the spring, 1876, R. E. Edwards, brother to W. C., opened out a large stock of general merchandise, lumber, &c., and started the Edwards county bank, occupying the two stores now occupied by Edwards Bros. and Edwards Bros. & Price. R. B. Martin, from Wisconsin, built his house and stable and subsequently opened out the lumber yard now run by Martin & Kelley. W. R. Davis & Co., opened out a grocery store where now is the "great western bakery," corner of Marsh avenue and Sixth street. Walter Robley, of Illinois, and T. P. German ("Joe"), formerly post guide at Fort Dodge and

³⁶. The new location must have been at or near the northwest corner of the Edwards Bros. block at Colony and Sixth.

a well-known scout, built and stocked the stable now owned and occupied by the Robley Bros. Keller Johnesee built and occupied the building now owned and occupied by Geo. Rummell as a harness shop. C. L. Hubbs built and occupied the building now used by him as a real estate and law office. "Thompson hall" was remodeled, somewhat enlarged and improved and painted by the owners, Barnett & Thormand, and opened out as the "Eureka house," by P. M. Jones, now postmaster at Nettleton. The Kinsley house again underwent more extensive repairs, still continuing under the skilled and popular management of Mr. & Mrs. A. D. Clute. At the November election, 1875, Taylor Flick was elected representative; Geo. Bill, Wm. Plag, Jr., and F. C. Blanchard, county commissioners; Wm. Emerson, clerk; N. L. Humphrey, treasurer; Robert McCanse, sheriff; J. S. Perry, coroner; C. L. Hubbs, surveyor; L. W. Higgins, register of deeds; P. M. Jones, clerk of the district court; James Woods having resigned the position of clerk of the district court in the spring of 1875, W. C. Reed was appointed to fill the vacancy, and at the November election P. M. Jones was elected for one year. The total number of votes polled was seventy-eight. The population of Edwards county, as determined by census May 1, 1875, was 234, of which 138 were males and 96 females. W. C. Knight taught two terms of school in Thompson hall before it was converted into a hotel.

School district No. 1 was organized [in] August, 1874, and in the summer of 1876 voted \$4,000 in bonds for the erection of a school-house, resulting in the erection of the present brick schoolhouse, 35 x 40, two stories high and containing four spacious rooms and was occupied for school purposes in June, 1877, prior to which, in the summer of and fall of 1876, two terms of school were held in the church building, Miss Zona Kimmins and J. W. Edwards teachers. During this summer the county voted \$12,000 bonds for the purpose of bridging the Arkansas river, and early in 1877 the bridge was completed at a cost of about \$9,000. In the winter of 1876-'7 Morgan Jensen, from Wisconsin, built the store now occupied by A. A. Brown on Colony avenue. About the same time C. D. Perrit built and occupied the adjacent building as a grocery store.

At the November election in 1876 Taylor Flick was again elected representative by a majority of twenty-six votes over C. L. Hubbs; J. E. McArthur, county attorney; V. D. Billings, clerk of the district court; W. Kimmons, probate judge and G. W. Milner, superintendent of public instruction. By this election Edwards county

obtained her first recognized right to a representation in the legislature, Mr. Flick having failed to obtain his seat the year previous for lack of a sufficiently large total vote, and Mr. Hubbs having been admitted as a delegate only, in 1875, for a similar reason. G. W. Milner and R. T. Spivey succeeded P. H. Niles as agents for the sale of the railroad land in the summer of 1876, and Milner was himself succeeded by Monroe & Spivey in the fall of 1877, and transferred to the agency for the sale of lands at Garfield, in Pawnee county, with headquarters at Kinsley. In the spring of 1876 Col. W. G. Dickenson, agent of the Arkansas Valley Town company, laid out and plat[t]ed about forty acres addition to Kinsley, south, and many dwelling houses were erected thereon. R. L. Ford, Esq., also made purchases in the summer of a tract of land of the A. V. T. Co., adjoining the addition, south, upon which several dwellings have been erected. In the winter of 1876-'7 and spring following Doctor Freeland built two houses on Colony avenue, north, and later James Byrne, one of the men of '73, purchased and fitted up the dwelling-house on Fifth street, north, now occupied by R. Kirk. A. B. Roundy built the brick storeroom now occupied by Glasgow & Co., as a drugstore. W. Vermillion having previously built the three or four buildings on the adjoining lots south. J. W. Fuller built the building now known as the Valley house, which has been but recently again enlarged. Jacob Schmidt built the meat market adjoining, south. W. T. Bruer succeeded to the good will of the Kinsley *Reporter*, and in March, 1877, issued the first number of the *Edwards County Leader*, which is now said to have a circulation of one thousand copies. One of the papers west of the Missouri that prints both sides of its paper in its own office. In April, 1877, J. E. Willey, Esq., from Philadelphia, built and occupied his store on Colony avenue, south, as a hardware and furniture store and tin shop. He has lately been obliged to build a spacious addition to accommodate his largely increased business. He was elected one of the justices of the peace of Kinsley township in the fall of 1877. During the spring of 1877 also the Fraternal Home and Land Association, of Philadelphia, numbering some thirty families, located south of the river.³⁷ Messrs. C. S. Ostrander, J. Furguson, J. Gray, C. and S. Carpenter and several other substantial and enterprising citizens, of New York state, with their families, also located south of the river in the northeast part of the county.³⁸ During this summer

37. This colony was usually referred to as the Wentz colony.

38. These New York immigrants settled northeast of the present town of Lewis.

and fall a large number of dwelling-houses, two blacksmith shops, carpenter and painters shops were built on the townsite too numerous to mention in detail. Mrs. A. L. McGinnis, postmistress, removed her house to Marsh avenue, south, and enlarged it sufficiently to make accommodation for the post office. Edwards Bros. & Dudley have recently built a large livery and sale stable on the ten lots adjoining.

The Valley Republican was started by M. M. Lewis, Esq., an experienced and accomplished journalist, November 3, 1877, under whose able editorial management it soon claimed a weekly edition of five hundred copies. After publishing seventeen numbers Mr. Lewis "stepped down and out," and it is now under the management of C. L. Hubbs, Mr. Lewis being engaged in the law and real estate business. During this winter, 1877-'8, Messrs. DePuy & Frater have erected a large building on Sixth street as an agricultural warehouse, with a large public hall in the second story. Another two story structure, on Sixth street adjoining the Messrs. DePuy & Frater, is understood to be soon occupied by A. A. Brown. Adjoining it on the west Messrs. Collier & Lane have opened out a meat market. W. R. Davis & Co., grocers, having been succeeded by E. I. Meeker and he in turn by E. I. Meeker & Co., removed to a more commodious building, with large warehouse in the rear between the Kinsley house and Edwards Bros. block, and opened out a large stock as a general merchandise store.

In the summer of 1876 John Fitch, a "live Yankee," purchased a tract of land at Nettleton, this county, seven miles northeast of Kinsley on the railroad, erected a large, three story house, a barn and a windmill for grinding grain, and it is now the center of a large trade.

Edwards county has an area of nine hundred and seventy-three square miles, 737,280 acres of land, of which about 150,000 acres are taxable. Kinsley, the county seat, is in latitude 37 minutes, 58 seconds; longitude 99 minutes, 46 seconds, and with an altitude of 2,220 feet above tide water, mean temperature of three winter months 32.59°, of three spring months 40.79°, of three summer months 75.16°, of three fall months 53.98°. The average rainfall from May to November, six months, is about eighteen inches. Maximum extreme of temperature in five years, 110°, minimum, same period, 14°. The Arkansas river and Coon creek furnished an unlimited water power.³⁹ No coal is known to exist in the county,

39. This was absurd boasting, but for many years Kinsley boomers kept up the pretense.

but Colorado coal, the best in the world, can be delivered here at less than \$100 per carload, or twelve tons. The growing of artificial timber is being made a success; Capt. C. H. Kirkpatrick, near Nettleton, has a surprisingly fine showing of timber, 20 acres of which will average eight feet in height and consists of cottonwoods at intervals of 12 feet, each intervening 11 feet in the rows having black walnut, osage and willow. Probably the finest tract of artificial timber to be found west of the sixth principal meridian. He has also 21 acres, set out this spring in the same manner, of like varieties. F. C. Badger, three miles northeast of Kinsley, has some that has grown ten feet high the past season. Several kinds of sandstone, and limestone of fine quality for lime, are found. Taylor Flick, Esq., has an osage orange hedge, two years old. Maj. Geo Bill and G. B. Ketchum have an exceptionally fine hedge of the same of one year's growth.

Major Bill has also ten acres of growing timber, chiefly cottonwood and black walnut, averaging five feet in height, one and two year's growth; he has also ten acres planted with black walnut.

Edwin Bartlett also has ten acres in timber, chiefly cottonwood of one year's growth. Messrs. Bartlett and Badger have, together, upwards of forty-five acres of growing timber, about twelve acres of which were planted this spring.

A. L. Kendall has an "80" fenced with posts and barbed wire.

In January, 1874, C. N. Bonner unearthed about four feet beneath the surface, the remains of some huge animal, one tooth of which was obtained entire and well preserved, and weighed five pounds. A portion of a tusk was also exhumed, three feet in length and five inches in diameter, but crumbled upon exposure to the air.

Mrs. Dr. D. P. Daniels made the first bread from the first home-grown and home-ground wheat in Edwards county in 1874. The first death from natural cause was a child of S. E. Fay, in October, 1872. The first birth, a daughter to Mrs. Simon Cass, in August, 1873. The first marriage, Nellie Chase to Wm. Emerson, April 11, 1874. The first dairy was started by R. S. Williamson, in April, 1877, and he was succeeded by N. L. Mills, who notwithstanding he has living water on his farm, is unable to supply the demand for milk. The first dwelling house (frame) by W. F. Blanchard, in April, 1873. The first entry of government land by Taylor Flick, Esq., March, 1873. The first building erected on the town site of Kinsley, exclusive of buildings on the railroad right of way, by

Taylor Flick, Esq., and now occupied by him as a law office, July, 1873. The first newspaper printed by Mrs. A. L. McGinnis, in September, 1873. The first patent for government land was issued to Miss Fanny Rowe for the SW qr., sec. 20, t. 24, r. 19. The first hotel was opened by M. D. Hetzel and A. D. Clute, March, 1873. The first wheat was raised by John A. Brothers, on sec. 12, t. 24, r. 19, in 1874. The first lathed and plastered house was built by Taylor Flick, in 1874. The first hedge was set by Taylor Flick in 1875. The first brick were burned by W. C. Edwards, in August, 1874. The first schoolhouse was built in the winter of 1876-'77 by school district No. 1. The first Congregational church was organized in July, 1874. The first church edifice was built in the fall of 1874. The first Roman Catholic church was organized in the fall of 1874. The first Methodist church in May, 1877. The first Presbyterian church in August, 1877. The first piano brought to Edwards county was by J. A. Walker, in June, 1873. The first dwelling house on the townsite of Kinsley was built by W. C. Knight, in July, 1873.

The business of the railroad had so largely increased at this station that in March, 1877, Andrew Kingkade was appointed to assist Fred Gardner, the station agent.

At the general election in November, 1877, J. R. Lovell was elected county commissioner for district number one, south of the river; E. H. Hough from district number two, and George Bill from district number three, respectively for one, two and three years; R. L. Ford, county clerk; A. L. Kendall, treasurer; John W. Fuller, sheriff; John G. Thauer, coroner; L. W. Higgins, register of deeds; J. N. Norval, county surveyor; and J. A. Freeland, probate judge. W. R. Kimmons having resigned as probate judge S. T. Reed was appointed by the governor to the vacancy, and Capt. Freeland was elected for one year.

Immediately after taking his office as sheriff, J. W. Fuller sold out the "Fuller house" (now known as the "Valley house") and leased the Kinsley house from Mr. Clute, where he entertains strangers utterly "unaware" of their possible celestial origin, and worthily maintains the former high reputation of the house.

Sunday morning, January 27, 1878, about 3:30 o'clock a. m., a gang of robbers, with blackened faces, attempted to rob the depot and westward bound train at Kinsley, but were thwarted by the vigilance, tact and "sand" of Kingkade, the night operator. Four of them are now believed to be safely secured in the jail at Emporia,

where they have ample leisure to compare the exploits of Kingkade with the "life and exploits of Jack Cade." ⁴⁰

No death of any adult person has occurred from acute disease, and but three from chronic diseases, in Edwards county within these five years, though there are four allopathic and one homeopathic physicians located here; and no person has yet been sent to the penitentiary, though eight lawyers and real estate agents each hang out a shingle here.

The valuation of real and personal property in Edwards county for the year 1875 (first year after organization) was \$231,760.75; for 1876, \$419,318.00; for 1877, \$473,809.36. No valuation of real estate was made in 1877, the law of the state providing for the valuation of real estate biennially.

The total bonded indebtedness of the county, including that of school districts, is \$16,925. There are nine organized school districts, inclusive of one "joint district" (Ford and Edwards counties), four of which only have voted bonds, to wit: district No. 1, \$4,000; joint district No. 1, \$1,500; district No. 2, \$1,000; district No. 7, \$425.

Geo. W. Fulton, of Rice county, Kansas, has this day (March 13) bought lot 5, in block 12, in Kinsley for the immediate erection of a steam flouring mill.

Gold, silver and greenbacks and other evidences of wealth that need but to be "remonetized," underlie nearly the entire area of Edwards county, only a few inches beneath the surface. Among the men of '73 and early '74 who struck "leads" the past season were Theo. Carter, thirty-nine bushels winter wheat to the acre. M. D. Hetzel, two hundred and seventy-five bushels of German millet from five acres, forty bushels of rye to the acre, and a small patch of oats at the rate of one hundred and twenty bushels to the acre. John A. Brothers, twenty-two bushels of spring wheat per acre, and sixty bushels of barley per acre. J. T. North, 351 bushels of spring wheat from thirteen acres, and 556 bushels of barley from thirteen acres. Edwin Bartlett and F. C. Badger, sixteen hundred and ninety bushels of barley from forty acres, and twenty-eight bushels of winter wheat per acre. Geo. W. Rowell and Marion Sowards each twenty-eight bushels of winter wheat per acre, and A. Hippler thirty-one bushels of wheat per acre. Frank Spring, Jr., 291 bushels of oats from ten bushels of seed, or upwards of seventy bushels per acre.

40. The Larned paper was so unkind as to accuse Kinsley of planning the robbery for publicity purposes.

Among those who have come here as to a "city of refuge" from the premier (pulmonary complaint) of the "King of Terrors," is E. A. Noble, who came from Beaver county, Pennsylvania, packed in a double barrelled undershirt and numerous other flannel contrivances, an ulster overcoat, cork soled boots, and four yards of muffler, with scarcely sufficient strength to carry it all with the help of a cane, and to whom a toasted cracker and two table-spoonfuls of lime water were a hearty meal, now finds the clothing of the average white man amply sufficient, and wishing to spend a day on the range, himself dons a cardigan jacket, packs his pony with two blankets and four cans of Boston baked beans, slips a flask of something for snake-bite into his pocket, vaults into the saddle without the aid of a stirrup, and gallops away to some cattle ranch to sleep wherever night shall overtake him, equal to the hardiest frontiersman.

Also there is our genial and eloquent county attorney J. E. MacArthur, (asthmatic) who came from Clinton county, Iowa, wheezing like a stern wheeler with forty loaded barges in tow against the stream, now addresses the jury (whenever the other lawyers can get a "corner" on some petty misdemeanor) in stentorian tones that can be heard three blocks away against a norther.

The first jury (six) "sworn to try the case" in this county, were impanelled under the "city organization" in December, 1873. Their names were S. S. Hart, G. W. Wilson, G. W. Rowell, Marion Sowards, Jacob Ramie and John Key. Verdict—"Guilty, with a recommendation to the mercy of the court, (signed) S. S. Hart, foreman."

In January, 1873, Fred Gardner shot six buffalo, with six consecutive shots, from the window of the telegraph office, and in July, 1875, W. F. Blanchard killed the last buffalo known to have been killed in Edwards county.

In April, 1875, the Cheyenne Indians jumped their guard at the agency in the territory. They were trailed and shadowed for days by T. P. (Joe) German, then post guide at Fort Dodge, until the evening of April 28, when he came into Kinsley, and reported that the Indians would probably cross the river near "Lone Tree" sometime during the night. The Indians did so cross about fifteen miles above Kinsley, and stole two horses belonging to — — Holden. On the morning of April 29, German, A. L. Kendall, V. D. Billings and G. W. Wilson went up the railroad track and struck the Indians' trail about ten miles west of Kinsley, when Wilson came

back with a dispatch to Fort Dodge for troops. Holden and Wm. Plag, Jr., rode post to Dodge, and troops were promptly sent out from the fort, and the following evening overtook the Indians about thirty miles northwest of Kinsley; but through the shameful inefficiency of the captain (Campbell) commanding, failed to capture them. Captain Campbell was subsequently "permitted to resign."

The writer is indebted to the admirable history of Pawnee county, by Capt. Henry Booth, of Larned, for the facts in relation to Pawnee county, though we take issue with Captain Booth as to the object of Coronado's raid. I am unable to find any mention of Peketon county outside of the territorial records and Captain Booth's history, save a solitary reference thereto in *Kansas Reports*, v. 3, in Cusick v. Douglas and others.

In this hastily written sketch of the history of Edwards county some inaccuracies and omissions are inevitable, but it would be strangely incomplete without some acknowledgement of the uniform courtesy and hearty coöperation in assisting to develop the resources of Edwards county, on the part of Col. A. S. Johnson, commissioner of the land department, and the other officers and managers of the A., T. & S. F. R. R. The utmost harmony and good will has at all times existed between them and the citizens and officials of the county.

College Football in Kansas

HAROLD C. EVANS

IN THE 1880's extracurricular activities in Kansas collegiate circles were largely confined to long-winded debating and oratorical contests. Literary societies had not been replaced by student "pep" organizations and inter-collegiate athletics was carried on in a desultory fashion by a few of the older and larger institutions. Garden varieties of athletics, such as lawn tennis and croquet, under the direction of youthful instructors from "back East" who wanted to keep fit by indulging in some dignified form of exercise, enjoyed a limited popularity. Baseball, it is true, had invaded K. U., Washburn and Baker, but it was a primitive form of the national pastime, played without faculty sanction, and schedules were limited to three or four games each season.

The New England influence that directed the educational policy at Washburn was eventually extended to the field of athletics. The tremendous increase in the popularity of football at Yale, Harvard, Princeton and the other "ivy league" colleges during the 1880's aroused a latent interest among the young men who pursued a higher education in the halls of Kansas University and Baker. Which of these schools pioneered in introducing the game to Kansas cannot be determined from the incomplete records.

Washburn, it is definitely known, had a football team in 1885. "Football!! Is booming!!!" announced the *Washburn Argo*, adding that the team had recently been equipped with white uniforms with red stockings and red caps. About all that this proves is that the Topeka school had not yet adopted the traditional Yale blue and white as its school colors. The *Argo* adds that "Stone is a most efficient captain."¹ The Stone referred to is Robert Stone, for years a prominent Topeka attorney. Editorially the *Argo* said:

The colleges of Kansas need stirring up; they need something that will bring the students together from the different institutions and while arousing spirited competition will create a fellow-feeling. There is nothing that will cause so great interest and enthusiasm in a college as athletic contests. Perhaps each college will send a delegation of ten or twelve to the state oratorical contest, but let two of our rival ball clubs or foot racers meet and we will see every student throw away his books and brimming over with patriotic enthusiasm rush to the ball ground or race course. In view of the lack of interest our

1. *Washburn Argo*, Topeka, December, 1885.

colleges show in this line and the great need, we would recommend a State Inter-Collegiate Athletic association. Let us hear what our sister colleges have to say on this subject.²

Apparently this revolutionary editorial met little response among the student press, for it was five years before a program of inter-collegiate athletics was launched in the state. Washburn, K. U., Baker, Lewis Academy of Wichita and the old Wichita University made unsuccessful attempts to introduce football between 1885 and 1890. Former Lewis Academy and Wichita University players recall that the game had its inception in Wichita in 1889, but add that it really did not get under way until 1890.³

The *Argo* of October 17, 1890, reveals that "lack of opposition" killed football at Washburn. A clue to the competition met by Washburn teams of the 1880's is found in the statement that the team was discouraged when it was forced to go to Kansas City for its games without receiving the promise of a return game. From this bit of information it is logical to deduce that the Kansas City Y. M. C. A. club was Washburn's opponent on these invasions of the Missouri metropolis, for the Y. M. C. A. team appeared on several college schedules in the 1890's.

Recorded football history in Kansas begins on November 22, 1890, at Baldwin, when the *Topeka Capital* reported that the game "had its first introduction into Western colleges today [November 22]. Baker University defeated Kansas University, 22 to 9." *The Weekly University Courier* modifies the *Capital's* statement by calling the Baker-K. U. contest the "first football match of any importance."⁴ In either event, football had been recognized by the daily press and its future in Kansas athletics was assured.

Baker was elated. "It has been the boast of K. S. U. that none of the colleges in the state could compete with her in athletics," *The Baker Beacon* blared exultantly, "but she must now take in her sign or else make it read differently."⁵

Baker scored on the "third scrimmage" when Lockhart sliced through the University line and crossed the goal. Three plays later the Methodists scored again with Coole carrying the ball across the line. The try for point was unsuccessful each time and the Baker total was only eight points, as touchdowns counted but four in those days, with two points added for a successful try for point. Con-

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, December 18, 1927.

4. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 23, 1890; *University Courier*, Lawrence, November 28, 1890.

5. *The Baker Beacon*, Baldwin, November 26, 1890.

sequently, after K. U. rallied and pushed over a touchdown, then followed it with a field goal, which netted five points, the Baldwinites were trailing, 9 to 8, as the first half ended.

"When the second half was called everybody was anxious," the *Beacon* reported, meaning the home crowd, no doubt, although it seems hardly possible that K. U. supporters felt much confidence in that one-point lead. If so, it was misplaced. Goodale of Baker soon scored a third touchdown for the Methodists. Try for point failed, but Baker led, 12 to 9. After some hard going Goodale scored again, but the try for goal went wide and the score stood 16 to 9 for Baker. Late in the game Atherton scored the fifth and last touchdown for the triumphant Baker team; this time goal was kicked and the score mounted to 22 points. K. U. had failed to add to its first half total.⁶

Baker followed its conquest of the University eleven with a 32 to 0 victory over Washburn.⁷ Meanwhile K. U. made an unsuccessful foray against the Kansas City Y. M. C. A. and took an 18 to 10 beating.⁸ Several hundred persons crowded about the playing field when the Baker team came to Lawrence on the afternoon of December 8 for a return game with K. U.

The final score of this contest has been a moot question for fifty years. University records give the score as 14 to 12 for Kansas.⁹ Baker claimed in the *Beacon* of December 10, 1890, to have gained a 12 to 10 victory and hailed its team as state champions. A disputed play in the closing minutes was the basis of the controversy. With Baker leading 12 to 10 time was called on some technicality, according to the Baker version. While the Baldwin team was relaxed, Coleman, University center, snatched up the ball and dashed across the goal line, said Baker men. Umpire William Herbert Carruth, Kansas University professor, decided for Baker, but K. U. students refused to abide by the decision. The game ended a few moments later and supporters of both teams left the field chanting paeans of victory. Baker's claim to the state championship was only feebly disputed in Lawrence, however.

This concluded the first football season in Kansas college annals. The state's newspapers recognized the K. U. victory claim, but Baker was hailed as the best team in Kansas. Professor Carruth admitted in the *Graduate Magazine*, in November, 1923, that he was probably

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1890.

8. *University Courier*, Lawrence, December 5, 1890.

9. *Ibid.*, December 12, 1890.

wrong in calling time out. Nobody in Kansas qualified as a football expert at that remote date. The players coached themselves and interpreted the rules to their own satisfaction. The University coach was Prof. E. M. Hopkins, a Princeton alumnus, whose only qualification was that he had seen football played at his alma mater. It seemed that no one else on Mount Oread had ever seen a game prior to the historic campaign of 1890.

But this little flurry of gridiron activity fostered the organization of the first intercollegiate athletic association in the state. Baker, Washburn and K. U., the pioneering triumvirate, were ready to have at it again in 1891, and representatives of the three schools met in the spring to form the Triangular League and to map out a schedule of competition in football, baseball and tennis.

Play got under way late in the fall. The first contest on November 7, 1891, reported the following day in the Topeka *Daily Capital*, was between Baker and Washburn at Baldwin and resulted in a 28 to 18 victory for the defending state champions. Prominent in the Washburn lineup was J. C. Mohler, now secretary of the State Board of Agriculture. The Baker watchword was "stop Jake." Mohler got away frequently in spite of Baker's vigilance, but the Washburn defense could not cope with the powerful attack of the big Baker backs.

It was a K. U. year. The Jayhawks won a clear title in the new league, defeating Washburn twice, 32-10 and 38-10, and winning from Baker 18-4 and 8-0.¹⁰ The first Kansas-Missouri game was played at Exposition Park, Kansas City, on October 31, 1891. Kansas won, 22 to 8.¹¹ Kansas also claimed a 14-12 victory over the University of Iowa, but Iowa's record gives the result as 18-14 for the Hawkeyes.¹²

Coached by A. W. Shepherd, formerly of Cornell, the University team made a brilliant record in 1892. Washburn, Baker, Illinois, Nebraska and Iowa were Jayhawk victims and there was talk of claiming the Western championship. But Baker, beaten 14 to 0 in its first game with the Lawrence men, spoiled the University's unblemished record by a surprise 18 to 0 victory late in the season. Unquestionably it was a great year for Kansas football. The Kansas-Nebraska meeting was the first in history. Illinois was beaten, 26 to 4; Iowa, 24 to 4; Nebraska, 12 to 0. Kansas and Missouri

10. *Football at the University of Kansas*, a pamphlet published by the K. U. News Bureau, 1938.

11. *University Courier*, Lawrence, November 6, 1891.

12. *Ibid.*, December 11, 1891.

played the first of their traditional Thanksgiving week series, with the Tigers bowing, 12 to 4.¹³

Notwithstanding the "great depression" Kansas started the autumn of 1893 with a score of new teams on the gridiron. Baker had one of its most successful seasons, and incidentally its last until 1910, for the Kansas conference of the Methodist church banned the game from the Baker campus at the end of the year. The Bakers of 1893 defeated Missouri University, 28 to 0; tied Nebraska; beat K. U., 14 to 12, and the powerful Denver Athletic Club, 32 to 0.¹⁴ Kansas, although not so fortunate, defeated Nebraska and Iowa, losing to Michigan, 22 to 0; Minnesota, 12 to 6; Denver A. C., 24 to 10; and meeting the first reverse at the hands of the Missouri Tigers, 10 to 4.¹⁵

Several high school and town teams took up the game during this season, including Topeka, Lawrence and Abilene. The Abilene team furnished the opposition for Kansas Wesleyan University in one of the Salina school's first gridiron appearances and held the Wesleyans to a 10 to 6 score.¹⁶ Washburn subdued Topeka High School, 18 to 0.¹⁷

Baker's withdrawal automatically wrecked the Triangular League and no attempt was made to find a substitute for the Baldwin school. Ottawa University put a strong team on the field in 1894, one that tied K. U. and won a 28 to 0 victory over Missouri.¹⁸ On November 3, the Kansas Aggies were beaten, 24 to 0, by Abilene in their first football game. Washburn had a stronger team than in past years and defeated two newcomers, the College of Emporia and Midland College of Atchison. Kansas University lost to Iowa, Michigan and Nebraska, but defeated Doane College of Crete, Neb., and Missouri.

As the years passed, it began to appear that K. U. had few rivals in the state who could furnish the stiff competition formerly provided by Baker. Between 1895 and 1899 Fairmount and Friends University of Wichita, St. Mary's College, Cooper College of Sterling, the Kansas City Medical College, Emporia Normal, the College of Emporia, Haskell Institute, Ottawa University, Midland College of Atchison, Kansas Wesleyan University, Washburn College and Kansas Aggies were competing with each other and with high-school

13. *Football at the University of Kansas.*

14. *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 15, 22, 29 and December 1, 1893.

15. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1893; *Football at the University of Kansas.*

16. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 19, 1893.

17. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1893.

18. *Ibid.*, October 28, November 11, 1894.

and town teams in their respective neighborhoods. Some of the high-school and town team competition was more than the collegians could handle. The eleven that represented the little town of Glasco in the late 1890's was organized by a former Ottawa University player in 1896. It defeated Washburn and Ottawa and held K. U. to a close score.

Two intra-city feuds of long standing began in the 1890's: the College of Emporia-Emporia Normal rivalry and the Fairmount College-Friends University series in Wichita. Before the close of the century the annual Kansas-Missouri game was already cloaked with tradition and Washburn also was looking forward to its annual game with the University team as the big event of the season.

Under the tutelage of Fielding H. "Hurry Up" Yost, the University eleven was undefeated and un-tied in 1899. Yost, who later became famous as coach of Michigan's "point-a-minute" teams, is regarded as one of the greatest football technicians in the history of the American game. Among the heroes on Mount Oread that autumn were Bennie Owen, "Cussin' Tom" Smith and a giant tackle with the innocuous name of Rollo Krebs, who became the center of a controversy that was not settled for thirty-five years. In fact, *l'affaire Krebs* became one of those half-legendary athletic scandals that was embellished from year to year by imaginative sports writers.

Krebs' first appearance in the K. U. lineup was at Lincoln when the Jayhawks met Nebraska, and his phenomenal line play was an important factor in the 36 to 20 victory won by Kansas. A week later he assisted in the 23 to 0 defeat of Washburn. According to the *University Weekly* of December 2, 1899, Krebs was a young man who had learned the rudiments of football at his old home in Trinidad, Colo. His parents had moved to Birmingham, Kan., and the alleged Colorado high-school player decided to enter K. U. in the fall of 1899. His belated appearance in the varsity lineup was explained by his inexperience. In the Missouri game, which was the last of the season, the big tackle smashed the Tiger plays with monotonous regularity. Two Missouri linemen, who attempted to stop the new Kansas sensation, were carried from the field on stretchers that afternoon. Kansas won, 34 to 6.

Back in Lawrence enthusiastic students planned a great celebration in Krebs' honor after his expected return with the team, but the "phantom tackle" disappeared after the game. It was soon whispered about Mount Oread that the departed hero was not the green

country lad his press agents had represented him to be. It was further alleged that Coach Yost had purposely imported this six-foot-three-inch, 210-pound gladiator to insure victories over Nebraska and Missouri and that he had played on other college fields before his Kansas debut.

The result was a housecleaning at K. U. As a matter of fact, the University was not alone among Kansas colleges which were tainted with professionalism. Even the staid Congregational college of Washburn once used Cy Leland's coachman in its line, a Washburn player of the 1890's confessed to the writer. There is also the tale of the Topeka fireman, one "Fatty" Clark, who was enrolled in the fine arts department at Washburn and starred in the Ichabod lineup.

The Krebs mystery was solved at last in 1934. The "phantom tackle," at that time 62 years of age and a mining engineer at Charleston, W. Va., came back to Lawrence the day before the Missouri game as guest of honor at a belated celebration. Krebs admitted that he had never been a resident either of Trinidad, Colo., or of Birmingham, Kan. His gridiron experience before his brief Kansas career consisted of five years' varsity competition at the University of West Virginia and a year in the professional ranks. He explained his disappearance at the conclusion of the 1899 campaign by stating tersely that he came to K. U. to play football, not to acquire an education.¹⁹

A tragic aftermath to the Krebs story was written two years later when the aging hero became totally blind after a mining accident.

The cleanup that followed charges of professionalism resulted in a disastrous season at K. U. in 1900. It might be said that all was lost save honor. Yost had gone to Michigan, the machine of 1899 was shattered by graduation, and efforts to place the game on a higher plane were being made. Meanwhile, Bennie Owen, quarterback of the all-victorious Ninety-niners, was coaching the Washburn Ichabods with great success. Owen's team came to Lawrence on October 6 and routed the University eleven, 24 to 0. Owen insisted on quarter-backing the Ichabods against his alma mater. The Jayhawks demurred and the game was delayed for a few minutes until Bennie consented to remain on the bench.²⁰ The College of Emporia beat the Jayhawks, 18 to 0, and Washburn repeated in a return game at Topeka, 29 to 0.²¹ Washburn lost to Haskell, 11 to 5, after defeating the Indians earlier in the season, 11 to 0.

19. *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, November 28, 1934.

20. *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 7, 1900.

21. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1900.

The early 1900's were marked by the rise of the Haskell Indians and the "Terrible Swedes" of Bethany College, Lindsborg. Ottawa, too, turned out some powerful teams and defeated K. U., 17 to 5, in 1901. Bennie Owen was engaged as coach at the Lindsborg school²² and the fruit of his efforts was a delight to residents of the Smoky Hill valley. Washburn went into a slump after Owen left; K. U.'s play was far from satisfactory. Wisconsin humbled the Jayhawks, 50 to 0, in 1901, and 38 to 0 in 1902.²³

Owen's debut at Lindsborg was heralded in the Lindsborg *Record* of August 29, 1902, as follows:

We are particularly fortunate in securing the well known Benny Owen as coach at Bethany this year. All lovers of the gridiron sport remember his magnificent work at quarterback with K. U. . . . His name has a permanent spot in the football history at the university. As coach for Washburn the year they were in their glory and swept the state his work is well remembered. Owen served last year as assistant coach for the University of Michigan and contributed liberally to the success of their great team. . . .

What Owen did to make the Swedes terrible is not definitely known, but they certainly performed in a fashion that struck fear from Lawrence to the Rocky Mountains and to the plains of Oklahoma. These comparative scores from the 1902 season reveal what a power the Swedes immediately became in Kansas football circles: Haskell, 24; K. U., 5. Bethany, 11; Haskell, 0.²⁴

In 1903 Dr. Bert Kennedy, who was destined to become a towering figure in the Kansas football coaching profession, took over the task of reviving the Washburn Ichabods. His debut was inauspicious when his charges played a listless 0 to 0 tie with Emporia Normal in their first game.²⁵ But the Washburn eleven came back with a 34 to 0 victory over K. S. A. C. and from then until the end of the season their march to the state championship was undisputed.²⁶ Kansas was beaten, 5 to 0, and Missouri, 6 to 0.²⁷ The Swedes challenged boldly, but were subdued, 12 to 6.²⁸

Haskell, too, had a good season that rainy autumn of 1903. The Indians invaded Chicago and held Walter Eckersall and his teammates to a 17 to 11 score,²⁹ conquered K. U. and all their Kansas

22. Lindsborg *Record*, August 29, 1902.

23. *Football at the University of Kansas*.

24. Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 16, 28, 1902.

25. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1903.

26. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1903.

27. *Ibid.*, November 1, 19, 1903.

28. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1903.

29. *Ibid.*, November 8, 1903.

competition, but did not meet Kennedy's Washburn team. Kansas salvaged something out of a disastrous campaign by beating Missouri, 5 to 0, in the annual Thanksgiving game.³⁰

Coach A. E. Hernstine's Haskell team led the way in 1904, while K. U. evened its accounts with Washburn by the score of 5 to 0.³¹ Bethany defeated the University of Oklahoma, 36 to 9.³² The hapless Kansas Aggies suffered the most humiliating defeat in their history when Washburn beat them 56 to 0.³³ Kansas beat Notre Dame, 25 to 5.³⁴ But the Indians, although they did not play under college eligibility rules and could not be considered as championship contenders, were easily the class of the state.

Haskell smashed K. U., 23 to 6, Missouri, 39 to 0, and Nebraska, 14 to 6. Washburn, which had a good season under Dr. John Outland, fell by a 14 to 0 score.³⁵ At this time Coach Glenn "Pop" Warner's Carlisle Indians were creating a sensation in the East and promoters of the St. Louis World's Fair concluded that a Haskell-Carlisle game at the fair would be what is colloquially known as a "natural." The game was scheduled for the Saturday after Thanksgiving, which fell on November 26.

The Haskell eleven warmed up for their Eastern rivals by playing Washington University of St. Louis on Thanksgiving Day and impressed the spectators with their display of power. Washington was massacred, 48 to 0.³⁶ The aftermath of this easy victory, however, was a stunning defeat. What happened to Haskell that afternoon? Was Eastern football so superior to the type of game played in the Missouri Valley? Were the plains Indians overconfident or were they stale after a hard schedule and a game only two days before the meeting with the Warner men?

Haskell started out like winners, swept down the field after the opening kick-off and drew first blood when Pete Hauser kicked a field goal after three minutes of play had elapsed. From then on to the finish it was a Carlisle parade. The Warner-coached backs tore the Haskell line to ribbons. The final score was Carlisle, 38; Haskell, 4. It was a severe blow to Missouri valley prestige.³⁷

Glenn Warner was so impressed with the play of Haskell's famous

30. *Football at the University of Kansas.*

31. *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 30, 1904.

32. *Ibid.*, November 25, 1904.

33. *Ibid.*, November 13, 1904.

34. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1904.

35. *Ibid.*, November 20, 1904.

36. *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, November 25, 1904.

37. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 27, 1904.

Hauser brothers, Pete and Emil, that he lured the big Cheyenne lads to Carlisle where they performed with distinction. Of Pete, the full-back, Warner said he ranked "among the all-time stars." He received all-American recognition by Walter Camp while at Carlisle.³⁸

The University of Oklahoma territory, tired of taking beatings in its annual football game with the "Terrible Swedes," opened negotiations with Bennie Owen, and the ex-K. U. quarterback listened with favor to the call from the South.³⁹ It made little difference to Bethany, for football was temporarily abolished at the Lindsborg institution that year. The 1905 season, in which K. U. won the state title, was featured by a vast improvement at K. S. A. C. This was the year that M. F. "Mike" Ahearn took over the coaching duties.⁴⁰ The Aggies won six of their eight games, losing only to Washburn and K. U. The Jayhawks defeated all opponents in the Missouri Valley area, but succumbed to a great Colorado University team, 15 to 0.⁴¹ Bennie Owen's first invasions of the state with his Oklahoma Sooners were not marked by success. K. U. rebuked its ex-quarterback, 34 to 0, and Washburn's Ichabods taught their former teacher a lesson, 9 to 6.

Football took an alarming toll in fatalities and serious injuries in 1905 and college authorities began to talk seriously of abolishing the game. But it found a champion in the high places when Pres. Theodore Roosevelt suggested that the rules might be revised to eliminate many of the dangers. Coaches and other supporters of the game offered suggestions. There was some talk of playing a trial post-season game under an improvised code, but none of the big Eastern colleges volunteered to make such a move.

Fairmount college of Wichita, coached by Willis Bates, a former Dartmouth player, had completed a successful season and Wichita promoters suggested that the Fairmount "Wheat Shockers" would be willing to act as guinea pigs if a suitable opponent could be found for a Christmas day "clinical contest." Washburn, which had beaten Fairmount in a close game during the regular season, readily agreed to appear against the Fairmount team in the holiday game.

The following rule changes were adopted: Ten yards in three downs instead of five yards; a field goal to count four points if made within thirty-five yards of the goal, five points if between thirty-five and forty-five yards, six points if made from behind the forty-

38. Warner, Glenn S., "The Indian Massacres," *Collier's*, October 17, 1931.

39. Lindsborg *Record*, September 15, 1905.

40. "Records of the Kansas State College Athletic Department" (typed copy).

41. *Football at the University of Kansas*.

five yard line; forward passes to be allowed behind the line of scrimmage; disqualification for slugging and loss of the ball if the foul was committed by a member of the offensive team.

To insure impartial officiating Coach John Outland of Washburn and Coach Willis Bates of Fairmount acted as referee and umpire, respectively. The game was shortened to twenty-minute halves.

It was one of those balmy December days that frequently occur in Kansas and a large crowd filled the stands. Washburn kicked off, Fairmount gained two yards in two plays and punted. Washburn gained six yards in two thrusts at the line and Millice punted. That, according to contemporary accounts, pretty well describes the whole game. Percy Bates, brother of the Fairmount coach, and Millice of Washburn were both great punters, and this phase of the contest, at least, was spectacular. The *Wichita Eagle* reported:

A great many of the spectators were pleased with the game. They said it was a great deal more satisfactory from a spectator's standpoint than the old game, as the people could see more of the plays. The fact that the ball was in the air a good deal also pleased the populace, who evidently delight in seeing the egg-shaped ball float across the horizon. The football enthusiasts of the city did not take this view of the matter, though. Col. Sam Hess said that he thought the game would be better if played with four downs in ten yards or two downs in five. . . .

The score was 0 to 0. Washburn made four first downs, Fairmount three. Neither team threatened the other's goal very seriously, although Hope of Washburn narrowly missed an attempted field goal. Washburn punted 18 times, Fairmount 20. Washburn received a fifteen-yard penalty for holding. The only successful means of gaining ground was by fake kicks or forward passes.

Of the first forward pass, Bliss Isely, who played in the game, writes, "the first forward pass in history was thrown that afternoon by Bill Davis to Art Solter and was good for a ten-yard gain. A number of passes were thrown, and all of them good, possibly because defense against the pass had not been perfected."⁴²

Isely said that the pass delivery was primitive. Davis heaved the ball with both hands like a basketball player shooting a free throw and it wobbled crazily through the air. Little comment was made on the pass, though both coaches condemned the ten yards in three downs ruling. The Washburn coach opined that a team would have to be four touchdowns stronger to win under such a ruling.⁴³

Nevertheless, the rules committee adopted both the ten yards in

42. From Bliss Isely's writings, copy furnished by Wichita University.

43. *Wichita Daily Eagle*, December 26, 1905.

three downs rule and the pass, but they placed such restrictions upon the pass that it was extremely dangerous. One forward pass was allowed each scrimmage. There was no such thing as an incomplete pass in the modern sense. If the passer overshot his mark and the ball dropped to the ground it went to the defensive team.

Yet, within a few years, the forward pass was an important offensive weapon. Passers soon learned to grip the ball with one hand and spiral it with considerable accuracy and receivers became adept at snatching the gyrating oval out of the air. In 1907, Ralph Henry Barbour, who glorified the game of football in numerous exciting books for juvenile consumption, brought out a new thriller entitled *Forward Pass* in which the young hero scored the winning touchdown in the big game by means of this spectacular play.

Dr. Garfield Weede came to Washburn as coach in 1906 and the Ichabods went through a grueling 12-game schedule with three ties and one defeat.⁴⁴ The sensation of the season was K. S. A. C.'s first victory over its rival from Lawrence. Captain Mallon of the Aggies snatched up a blocked K. U. kick and raced half the distance of the field for a touchdown that gave the downtrodden Manhattan team a 6-4 victory.⁴⁵ The Aggies waited 18 years for another. But the Aggie record was marred by a 5 to 4 defeat by Washburn and a 12 to 6 loss to Coach Willis Bates' up-and-coming Fairmount team.⁴⁶ Fairmount gave Washburn its only defeat, 7 to 6. Washburn tied K. U., 0 to 0, and the Jayhawks won from Nebraska and tied Missouri.⁴⁷ Fairmount's claim to state honors was marred by a 6 to 0 loss to St. Mary's, a team Washburn defeated 42 to 0.⁴⁸

There was no question about the Washburn claim in 1907. Arm-chair football fans in Topeka love to speak of that Washburn team whenever talk veers to the question of which was the greatest Washburn team of all time. Doctor Weede's protégés were undefeated and untied, and counted Kansas, Kansas Aggies, Haskell, Fairmount, Oklahoma, St. Mary's, and Emporia Normal among their victims. Glenn Millice, half-back, is remembered as one of the greatest punters in Kansas history. White and Williams, backs; Haughey, end; and Brown, center, were all-Missouri Valley selections.⁴⁹

The season of 1908 probably marks the beginning of the transition

44. *Washburn Kaw*, Topeka, 1907.

45. Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 24, 1906.

46. Kansas State College, "Athletic Department Records."

47. Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 4, 11, 18, 30, 1906.

48. Wichita *Eagle*, October 23, 1906; *Washburn Kaw*, 1907.

49. *Ibid.*, 1908.

period in Kansas college football, a period in which the big state schools, Kansas University and Kansas State, outgrew the smaller colleges. Washburn slumped dismally, losing five games. Kansas Aggies' 23 to 4 victory over the Ichabods was the first game the Manhattan team had ever won from the Topekans.⁵⁰ Down at Lawrence Doctor Kennedy produced an all-victorious eleven. Kansas won the Missouri Valley Conference title in competition with Iowa University, Iowa State, Nebraska, Missouri, Drake and Washington University of St. Louis.⁵¹ It was the immortal Tommy Johnson's first year at quarterback for the Jayhawks.

In 1909 the Aggies came very near beating K. U. again and the 5 to 3 loss to their state rivals and a 3 to 0 set-back by Missouri were their only defeats. Crushing victories were scored over Kansas Wesleyan, Southwestern, Emporia Teachers, Creighton, Fairmount and Washburn. A dispute over the K. U. game caused a rift in relations between the Lawrence and Manhattan schools and no game was scheduled in 1910.⁵²

The K. U. team of 1909 almost duplicated its success of the previous year. Tommy Johnson's sensational 70-yard touchdown run against Nebraska that gave his team a 6 to 0 victory at Lincoln is one of the never-to-be-forgotten feats in Kansas athletic annals.⁵³ But Missouri upset the Jayhawks, 12 to 6, in the Thanksgiving Day meeting at Kansas City and snatched the title away from Mount Oread. Haskell beat Nebraska, 16 to 5.⁵⁴

Baker returned to competition in 1910. The Haskell Indians were at low ebb. Kansas University, captained by Tommy Johnson, finished fifth in the Missouri Valley race, losing to Nebraska, winning from Drake and tying Missouri in conference competition. Mike Ahearn's Aggies continued their victory march, overwhelming their Kansas opponents by one-sided scores, and adding Arkansas University, Missouri School of Mines and Creighton to their list of victims. Colorado College was the only team to defeat the Aggies.

In 1911 the Manhattan college began to lay the groundwork for an application to join the Missouri Valley Conference, as it was felt that the Kansas schools were not providing adequate competition for M. F. Ahearn's men. This, however, necessitated adherence to Missouri Valley eligibility rules and eliminated some good material.

50. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 22, 1908.

51. *Football at the University of Kansas*.

52. Kansas State College, "Athletic Department Records."

53. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 7, 1909.

54. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1909.

Emporia Teachers and Baker humbled the Aggies, they were overwhelmed, 59 to 0, by Nebraska, and lost a 6 to 0 decision to K. U.⁵⁵

In the Kansas loop, the College of Emporia provided a sensation by producing the first of a long line of fine teams. Washburn was mediocre, Fairmount, Baker and Emporia Teachers were strong. The Haskell Indians started a come-back under the tutelage of Dr. A. R. Kennedy, late of K. U. Nebraska easily defeated the Jayhawkers, 29 to 0, and the Kansas-Missouri game resulted in a 3 to 3 tie. Bennie Owen's Oklahoma Sooners won their first victory over their coach's alma mater, 3 to 0.⁵⁶

Washburn, coached by W. L. Driver, a former Missouri player, made a gallant effort to regain its front rank position in 1912 and succeeded in beating its old rival, the University, 10 to 0. It was the Ichabod's last win from the Jawhawks. Notwithstanding this reverse, Kansas defeated K. S. A. C., 19 to 6, and Missouri, 12 to 3. Nebraska, on the road to national gridiron prominence, stopped the K. U. team, 14 to 3.⁵⁷ Coach Guy Lowman's Aggies won the Kansas Conference title by shattering Washburn's hopes with a 21 to 3 defeat on Thanksgiving Day.⁵⁸

Several important rules changes went into effect in 1912. Forward passing across the goal line was legalized, touchdowns were to count 6 points instead of 5, the offensive team was given four downs to gain ten yards. There were other changes of a minor nature but these were the most important in their effect on the development of the game.

The field goal, which originally counted 5 points, had been reduced to 4 points in 1904 and to 3 points in 1909. By increasing the value of the touchdown to 6 points, with an additional point for the goal after touchdown, it would require three field goals to beat a touchdown and point conversion. Naturally the field goal lost favor and when the goal posts were moved to their present position ten yards back of the goal line by a code revision fifteen years later it almost became a forgotten method of scoring in college football. In recent years, however, there has been a revival of this spectacular play. The professional football rules makers have placed the goal posts back on the goal line and there is considerable agitation in college circles for following their example.

Kansas Aggies became the seventh member of the Missouri Valley

55. Kansas State College, "Athletic Department Records."

56. Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 12, 19, 26, 1911.

57. *Football at the University of Kansas*.

58. Kansas State College, "Athletic Department Records."

Conference in 1913, finishing in a tie for last place. Nebraska and Kansas were the new member's only conference opponents and each beat the Aggies handily. Southwestern College reached the zenith of its gridiron glory that autumn by handing the Aggies a 13 to 10 defeat.⁵⁹ Kansas finished third in the Valley with three victories and defeats by Missouri and Nebraska. Haskell was back in old-time form and had a great season, but lost a heartbreaking 7 to 6 decision to Nebraska.⁶⁰ In 1914 Friends University had an undefeated season.

Gradually the two big schools established the fact that they were too strong for the teachers' colleges and the denominational schools. Washburn beat Kansas Aggies, 26 to 16, in 1914 and has never won another game from its early-day rival. Since 1915, when Emporia Teachers defeated the Aggies, 13 to 0, the Manhattan school has lost only one game to a smaller Kansas college. That was the surprising 3 to 0 upset by Fort Hays State in 1935.⁶¹ Likewise, since its 1912 setback by Washburn, the University has lost only one football game to a Kansas rival other than the State College. Wichita University won an unexpected 18 to 7 victory over the Jayhawks in 1937.⁶²

A highlight of the World War era was Kansas' last victory over Nebraska. At that time Kansas had not beaten Nebraska since Tommy Johnson's victory run in 1909. The Cornhuskers were heavy favorites when the Jayhawks came to Lincoln on November 18, 1916. Coach Herman C. "Beau" Olcott devised a shrewd plan of battle. During the first half Kansas was constantly on the defensive. Only one serious attempt was made at offensive play. On every other occasion when Kansas got the ball Lindsey punted on the first or second down. When the intermission time came the K. U. goal line was unmarred by Husker cleats, but Nebraska led, 3 to 0, by virtue of a field goal.

Kansas opened up in the third quarter and scored a touchdown before the Huskers could rally their defense. Goal was kicked and Kansas led, 7 to 3. After that the Jayhawks went on the defensive again and withstood desperate Nebraska attacks until the final gun sounded.⁶³

Kansas Aggies won their first conference victory, beating Missouri 7 to 6.⁶⁴ The annual K. U.-Kansas Aggie struggle resulted in a score-

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 26, 1913.

61. Kansas State College, "Athletic Department Records."

62. *Football at the University of Kansas*.

63. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 19, 1916.

64. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1916.

less tie. Missouri soundly trounced the conquerors of Nebraska, 13 to 0.⁶⁵

Although most of the big Eastern colleges quit playing football during the period of the United States' participation in the World War, the Missouri Valley and Kansas Conferences continued without interruption through the 1917 season. "Beau" Olcott had a good season at K. U. The Jayhawkers lost only one conference game, and that to Nebraska.⁶⁶ Laslett, Nettels and Arthur "Dutch" Lonborg were among the great players on that team. H. M. "Swede" Neilson, whose touchdown had beaten Nebraska in 1916, was the captain. Kansas soldiers training with the 35th division at Camp Doniphan, Okla., went to Norman some 200 strong to cheer the Jayhawks on to a 13 to 6 victory over the Sooners.

In 1918 the Students Army Training Corps interrupted the athletic program and only a few games were played. Missouri did not attempt to organize a team and the Aggies were substituted for the Tigers as a Thanksgiving Day opponent. K. U. won, 13 to 7.⁶⁷ The Aggies beat Baker, Washburn, Fort Riley and Iowa State in the remaining games of their brief schedule. K. U. defeated Baker, but lost to Nebraska and Oklahoma.

Kansas-trained football players achieved the highest recognition in competition with teams composed of players from every section of the United States in the A. E. F. play-offs which took place in France during the winter and early spring of 1919. The 89th division team, which learned to soldier at Camp Funston and was composed of men from Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska, won the A. E. F. gridiron title after defeating another Western army eleven, the 36th division, which was composed of Texas and Oklahoma National Guardsmen. The championship game was played at Paris, March 29, 1919. The score was 14 to 6.⁶⁸

In the 89th line-up that day were Adrian "Ad" Lindsey, who played his last game for K. U. in 1916, and Howard "Scrubby" Laslett, a member of the 1917 team who returned to school after leaving the service and captained the 1919 K. U. eleven. The 89th division, stationed in Germany after the Armistice, organized a football team that swept through the Rhineland like one of Hitler's Panzer divisions. After winning the Third Army title the 89th beat the St. Nazaire Base Section eleven, which had Eddie Mahan, former

65. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1916.

66. *Ibid.*, November 18, 1917.

67. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1918.

68. *The Stars and Stripes*, France, April 4, 1919.

Harvard fullback, in its lineup,⁶⁹ 13 to 0. Lindsey, on this occasion, repeatedly outpunted the ex-Harvard star.⁶⁹

With Lindsey in the 89th backfield was George "Potsy" Clark, formerly of the University of Illinois, who had been an assistant coach at K. U. before the war. These two, with Laslett, an end, were chosen for the mythical all-A. E. F. eleven by the sports editor of *The Stars and Stripes*.⁷⁰ Both Clark and Lindsey coached at the University after the war.

On the 35th division team, which gave a good account of itself, were several Kansas collegians, including "Pinky" Beals of Washburn, George "Rook" Woodward of K. U., Hyndman of Pittsburg, and Kalama, giant Haskell center. When the 35th played the 7th division at Commercey one rainy afternoon in February, 1919, Beals looked across the field and saw Lt. Sam Stewart, who was Washburn's 1916 captain. Stewart was in the backfield for the regular army team. This game resulted in a scoreless tie, but the 7th division won the play-off at Toul, 6 to 0. The 35th was thus eliminated from competition. The Kansas-Missouri guardsmen had previously defeated the 33d division, 3 to 0, thanks to a field goal from the toe of Kansas' Woodward.

Football was resumed in 1919 with many A. E. F. veterans renewing their gridiron careers in Kansas. Laslett was back at K. U. Kalama was at his old position in the center of the Haskell Indian line. Washburn, under Elmer Bearg as coach, regained much lost prestige during this campaign by holding K. U. to a scoreless tie and threatening to win the Kansas Conference championship, but Gwinn Henry's Presbyterians at the College of Emporia upset the Ichabods, 7 to 0,⁷¹ to gain the title. It was becoming a habit with the Presbyterians. Kansas Aggies had a bad season, losing all but one of their conference games and also dropping a game to Haskell. K. U. won but one conference game, the annual contest with the Aggies.

Two games on the K. U. 1920 schedule stand out from the pages of Kansas gridiron lore. The first was the early season contest with Iowa State. Dr. F. C. "Phog" Allen coached the football team that season, the only time he has assumed that duty. Before the Iowa State game, "Phog" had a dream. He dreamed about football, of course, and naturally it had to do with the impending battle with the men from Ames.

"I seemed to see Harley Little carrying the ball," Dr. Allen re-

69. *Ibid.*, March 21, 1919.

70. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1919.

71. *Topeka Daily Capital*, November 15, 1919.

lated. The K. U. coach said that he regarded this as a good omen. Kansas won the toss and elected to receive the kick-off. Allen ordered his quarterback, Arthur Lonborg, to run Little on the first play. The dream came true. Before spectators were aware of what was going on, Harley Little was clear of the secondary defense, with the exception of the Ames safety. Lonborg, running interference, took care of the Ames safety and Little sprinted 75 yards to the only touchdown of the game. Kansas won, 7 to 0.⁷²

The Kansas Aggies were the next K. U. opponents and their coach wired Doctor Allen that dreams wouldn't turn the trick at Manhattan. Dream or no dream, the University won the game, 14 to 0.⁷³

For sheer thrills the Kansas-Nebraska game of 1920 probably equals any game of football ever played on old McCook field. Incidentally, it was the last on the old field. The new memorial stadium was occupied in 1921. Nebraska, a heavy favorite, rolled up 20 points in the first half. Kansas displayed little offensive power. In the third quarter Nebraska fumbled and Kansas recovered in Cornhusker territory. On the fourth down, "Dutch" Lonborg passed to Frank Mandeville for a touchdown.

This play was so successful that "Dutch" tried it again early in the fourth period. Mandeville scored again. Goal was kicked and the score stood, Kansas 14, Nebraska, 20. Lonborg was replaced at quarterback by John Bunn, but Bunn followed his example and on the first opportunity flipped a pass to Mandeville that resulted in another Kansas touchdown. The score stood 20 to 20. With victory within their reach, the Jayhawks missed their goal and the game ended in a tie.⁷⁴

Coach Allen's psychic powers failed to work against Missouri. The Tigers defeated Kansas, 16 to 7. Beaten by K. U., Missouri and Iowa State and tied by Washburn and Emporia Teachers, the Kansas Aggies rose to the heights on one occasion, to hold a great Oklahoma team to a 7 to 7 tie.⁷⁵ Oklahoma won the conference title. Washburn, although tied by Emporia Teachers and the College of Emporia, was undefeated in the Kansas Conference. Friends University, with one defeat, was second.

A slender youth from Osborne led Washburn to a surprising 10 to 7 victory over a supposedly invincible Emporia Teachers eleven in 1921. The Emporians had been raging through the Kansas Confer-

72. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, October 24, 1920; Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 27, 1920.

73. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1920.

74. *Ibid.*, November 14, 1920; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, November 14.

75. Topeka *Daily Capital*, November 21, 26, 1920.

ence that season. Washburn's play had been erratic. When Coach Dwight Ream of Washburn caught Marvin Stevens, his quarterback, at a dance the night before the game, he kept him on the bench during the first half. "Steve," as he was known to his Washburn team mates, went into the game in the third quarter. He led the Washburn second-half offensive that carried the ball deep into Emporia territory and kicked a field goal to give his team an upset victory.⁷⁶

Stevens attended Yale after he left Washburn and was a back-field star for Old Eli in 1923. Kansas watched the career of Dr. "Mal" Stevens with interest after his graduation from the Yale medical school. He was head football coach at Yale for several years and now holds that position at New York University.

Gwinn Henry went from the College of Emporia to the University of Missouri in 1923. His teams were perennial leaders in the Kansas Conference. "Potsy" Clark had his best team at K. U. in 1923. The Jayhawks were unbeaten that season, though their record was blurred by scoreless ties with Kansas Aggies and Nebraska and a 3 to 3 tie with Missouri. Only six points were scored against this great defensive team. Oklahoma and Missouri each scored field goals against K. U. While the team's claim to distinction was its defensive power, it ran up the second largest score ever amassed by a K. U. team in beating Washington University of St. Louis, 83 to 0.⁷⁷ The 3 to 3 draw with Missouri's Tigers was played at Lawrence in a Thanksgiving Day blizzard.

A victory drought of eighteen years in competition with K. U. was broken by Charley Bachman's Aggies on a sultry October day in 1924. The score was 6 to 0 and this event proved to be the turning point in the long series between the two large state schools.

So consistent had been the Jayhawk victory string that Aggie supporters had built up the superstition of a "jinx." The Aggies often seemed to be at their season's worst against the University team. In 1921, when the smooth-working Swartz to Stark passing combination was reflecting favorable publicity on the Manhattan team and its Notre Dame coach, the Aggies appeared to be almost certain to break their losing streak against K. U. But disappointed Manhattanites sat in the fog and rain at Lawrence that afternoon and saw their heroes do everything wrong in the first half, allowing the Jayhawks to take a 21 to 0 lead. The Aggies rallied in the second half and

76. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1921.

77. *Football at the University of Kansas.*

outplayed their opponents, but their offensive produced a lone touchdown and the game ended, 21 to 7.

The K. U. cheering section formed a habit of chanting "jinx, jinx," in portentous tones when the Aggies came onto the field. In 1923 Bachman's team pushed K. U. all over the field at Lawrence. One scoring drive seemed sure to result in a touchdown, but a fumble gave K. U. the ball. It was whispered later that John Lonborg, K. U. center, deliberately stole the ball. The game ended in a scoreless tie.

But the Aggies had the "breaks" on that afternoon in 1924. Harold Zuber, Jayhawk halfback, was tackled on the Aggies' 33-yard line in the fourth quarter and the ball popped out of his arms. A new arrival in the Aggie backfield was little Donald Meek, reserve halfback. The ball bounded Meeks' way and he scooped it up, tucked it securely under his arm and started like a scared jackrabbit for the K. U. goal, sixty-seven yards away. Pursuit was hopeless.⁷⁸

The thunderous roar of R. O. T. C. trench mortars reverberating from the Bluestem hills around Manhattan acclaimed the six points and the victorious Aggie team. It was the dawn of a new era in Kansas football. A brief résumé of subsequent K. U.-Kansas State football history reveals how completely the Aggies dominated the series after that game. Since the jinx was buried that afternoon with military honors K. U. has won but five games from the "Wildcats," as Kansas State teams are known today. The Manhattan men followed their 1924 victory with triumphs in 1925, 1926 and 1927.

The University team finally broke the string in 1928 with a 7 to 0 victory at Manhattan. Kansas State won, 6 to 0, in 1929. In 1930 a Big Six championship team from Lawrence rolled over their rivals, 14 to 0. Jim Bausch made both touchdowns, one from the opening kick-off, the second on a 60-yard run from scrimmage. The Wildcats won in 1931, 13 to 0, with Ralph Graham as their offensive star. Dope favored the State Collegians in 1932, but K. U. displayed unpredicted power in a 19 to 0 upset.

In 1933 the Wildcats won, 6 to 0. Lynn Waldorf's amazing 1934 team stopped the Jayhawks, 13 to 0; Kansas scored an upset 9 to 2 victory in 1935. It was easy for State in 1936, 26 to 6. In 1937 a K. U. team that had tied Nebraska and was entertaining hopes of a Big Six title was beaten at Lawrence, 7 to 0. Fresh in memory is Coach Fry's ill-timed boast in 1938, "K. U. will be a breather." The infuriated Jayhawks crushed their boastful rivals, 27 to 7. Visitors to the National Cornhusking Contest at Lawrence in 1939 saw the Wildcats win, 27 to 6, as a side attraction to the husking bee.

78. Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 19, 1924.

While the Aggies were shattering precedent in 1924 Gwinn Henry was bringing the Missouri Tigers to the top of the Missouri Valley ladder. In 1925 the Tigers came to Lawrence undefeated on the Saturday before Thanksgiving. K. U. had lost to Iowa State, Nebraska and Kansas State, all Missouri victims.

Charles "Stony" Wall, a reserve lineman, carved himself a niche in the K. U. hall of football fame that afternoon. The Jayhawks displayed a surprising defense and were battling the favored Tigers in a 7 to 7 deadlock in the closing minutes of the game. Kansas stopped a desperate Missouri drive near its goal line and Zuber went back to punt with a strong south wind at his back. A phenomenal kick rolled almost to the Tiger goal line and Missouri was "in a hole." The return punt carried a short distance and Kansas soon had the ball within striking distance with time for one play.

When "Stony" Wall ran out and reported to the officials everyone in the Kansas cheering section knew that Coach Clark had decided to gamble with a field goal rather than a forward pass. Wall responded by place kicking the ball between the posts as the game ended. Spectators insisted that the ball was in the air when the final gun was fired.⁷⁹

Kansas won another upset victory over the Tigers in 1927 and nearly precipitated a rupture in athletic relations with its traditional rival. The Missouri Valley schools had agreed not to "scout" each other in the belief that such a practice was unsportsmanlike. But Coach Frank Cappon of Kansas had perfected such an impregnable defense that the Tigers hammered at the line all afternoon to produce one touchdown. It didn't look like the same Kansas team that Nebraska had beaten, 47 to 13. Kansas also unveiled a passing attack and scored twice to win, 14 to 7.⁸⁰

Missouri claimed that Kansas had violated the antiscouting rule and produced evidence to show that persons not connected with the K. U. staff had acted as volunteer scouts at previous Missouri games and had provided Coach Cappon with charts of the Tiger plays that enabled him to improvise a method of stopping Clark and Flamank, Missouri ball carriers, in their devastating cut-back plays. The upshot of the affair was Cappon's resignation. H. W. "Bill" Hargiss, who had enjoyed a long and successful career as head coach of the Emporia Teachers, was engaged to replace Cappon in 1928.

79. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1925.

80. *Ibid.*, November 20, 1927.

When Missouri Valley representatives met in December, 1927, delegates expressed dissatisfaction with the ten-team conference. Some of the smaller schools such as Washington and Grinnell had not been able to provide much competition. The result was the formation of the present Big Six Conference by the withdrawal of Nebraska, Missouri, Oklahoma, Iowa State and the two Kansas representatives.⁸¹

The action of the big Missouri Valley schools was imitated by seven of the larger Kansas Conference colleges who withdrew from the cumbersome old league and formed the Central Intercollegiate Athletic Conference, commonly known as the Central Conference. New conference members included Wichita University, Washburn, Southwestern, College of Emporia and the three state teachers' colleges. In the old conference only Baker, Bethany, St. Benedict's, Ottawa, St. Mary's, McPherson and Kansas Wesleyan remained after Friends University, Sterling College and Bethel College withdrew from organized competition.

College of Emporia climaxed a long record of successful campaigning in Kansas football by winning the first Central Conference title in 1928. The Presbyterians were undefeated, untied and unscored upon. The annual Thanksgiving Day grudge game between the College and the Teachers decided the race. Both were undefeated in conference play. Many believed the Teachers had the stronger team, but Selves, McCartney and company scored a decisive 18 to 0 victory on a rain-swept field. It was C. of E.'s last "powerhouse" team. A subsequent change in athletic policy dropped the Presbyterians from their pinnacle. C. of E. soon found Central Conference competition too strong and went back to the Kansas Conference, effective December 1, 1933.⁸²

The prosperous 1920's saw the construction of several new stadia or "bowls." University students razed the wooden bleachers and grandstand at old McCook field in the spring of 1921 and work on Memorial Stadium was started during the summer. Games were played on the new field in 1921, but it was not officially dedicated until the following year. The stadium at Kansas State was begun in 1922 and the first section was ready for occupancy in time for the football season that fall. Washburn's Moore bowl was dedicated in 1928.

Former students and others interested in Haskell Institute con-

81. *Ibid.*, December 4, 1927.

82. *The New College Life*, Emporia, September 4, 1933.

tributed to a fund for the construction of a concrete stadium dedicated October 27-30, 1926. Thousands of Indians from reservations in the Southwest attended the ceremonies and saw the Indian eleven rout Bucknell University, 36 to 0.⁸³ Haskell, however, was a road team in the days of its gridiron glory. The Indians were much in demand and played in every section of the United States. Notre Dame, Gonzaga University of Spokane, Wash., St. Xavier of Cincinnati, Temple University of Philadelphia, Boston College and the University of Minnesota were numbered among Haskell's opponents. Football relations between K. U. and Haskell were renewed in 1930 after an interval of twenty-six years. The Lawrence teams met regularly during the early 1900's, but the 1905 game was canceled and relations were severed because students of the rival institutions had begun to take their football too seriously and frequent clashes occurred on the streets of Lawrence.

The 1930 game was played at the Haskell stadium before a homecoming crowd of Indians. K. U. won, 33 to 7, but the Indians were much better than the score indicates. All the breaks of the game went to K. U. Indian fumbles were converted into Jayhawk touchdowns, Indian touchdowns were nullified by penalties. Only two of the K. U. touchdowns were earned and Louis "Little Rabbit" Weller made some sensational gains through the University defense.

A return game was played in the K. U. stadium October 2, 1931. This was the only night game ever played by the Jayhawks on their home field. The Haskell lighting system was borrowed for the occasion. Haskell had lost to Washburn, 6 to 0, the week before and Bill Hargiss' protégés expected an easy victory. But the Indians, knowing that Weller would be a marked man, built their offense around a big fullback named Walter Johnson, who ripped the Jayhawk line to shreds. Weller, used as a decoy, carried the ball on only a few occasions. The score was 6 to 0, Haskell.

Post-season charity games were a feature in 1930 and 1931, as the depression's grip tightened. The first was played in 1930 when all-star teams representing the Central and Kansas Conferences met at Topeka, with the Central eleven winning, 21 to 7.⁸⁴ Washburn, co-champion of the Central Conference with Wichita University, met K. U. in a post season contest at Topeka early in December, 1931. The Ichabods were beaten, 6 to 0. Kansas State defeated Wichita

83. Topeka *Daily Capital*, October 31, 1926.

84. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1930.

University, 20 to 6, at Wichita. Ralph Graham, Eldon Auken and Henry Cronkite were the K-State luminaries that season.⁸⁵

Night football, though scorned by Kansas' Big Six members, is now played by all the smaller colleges, and most of the high schools of the state have lighted fields. The smaller schools, who had been forced to play many of their games on weekdays because of the Saturday competition at Lawrence or Manhattan, have found that night football is the answer to their attendance problems.

The ghost of Rollo Krebs stalked across the gridiron at Lawrence in 1930, casting a shadow over the best prospects the University had enjoyed in more than two decades. Not since 1899, when the Krebs scandal rocked Mount Oread, had the Jayhawkers faced such violent charges of professionalism and other unfair athletic practices. Jim Bausch, all-time all-star fullback and 1932 Olympic decathlon champion, was the storm center. Bausch was a graduate of Cathedral High School, Wichita, where he had been an outstanding athlete. He enrolled at Wichita University but K. U. alumni in Wichita carried on some effective missionary work and Jim soon matriculated at K. U. He played with the Jayhawks in 1929, but was out of the game with injuries part of the season.

In 1930 Jim was in prime condition. The Jayhawks beat Creighton, Haskell, Kansas State and Iowa State and the newspapers were shouting the team's praises, calling it the greatest that ever represented the University of Kansas. Rumbblings soon began to be heard throughout the Big Six. To discuss the details of the controversy that almost resulted in Kansas' expulsion from the conference would demand more space than the subject can be allotted in this chronology of Kansas football.

When the proud Jayhawks lost their big intersectional game with Pennsylvania by two touchdowns and performed indifferently in losing to a mediocre Nebraska team, 16 to 0, the clamor subsided. The Big Six decided to let K. U. stay, Bausch or no Bausch. The team won the remaining games of its schedule from Oklahoma and Missouri. Nebraska, tied by Missouri and beaten by Kansas State and Oklahoma, had one of its worst seasons. Missouri was beaten 32 to 0 by the Jayhawks but held Oklahoma to a scoreless tie five days later and by so doing gave K. U. its only Big Six football title. Kansas State's victory over Nebraska was its first. A long pass to Cronkite produced the winning touchdown for Coach "Bo" McMillan's team.

85. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1931.

Lynn Waldorf's feat of producing a championship team in 1934, his first and only year at Kansas State, is without parallel in Kansas coaching annals. The new mentor inherited few of the stars of previous years. Graham and Russell were among those lost through graduation. But Waldorf built up a team that edged past one obstacle after another in the conference race, concluding its performance with a 19 to 7 defeat of the Nebraska Cornhuskers at Lincoln on Thanksgiving Day. It was Kansas State's only championship in the Bix Six or the old Missouri Valley and it cost them their coach. Impressed with Waldorf's record, Northwestern made him an attractive offer and he became head coach at the Evanston school the following autumn.

Washburn's ambitious athletic program resulted in its withdrawal from the Central Conference in 1934. The Ichabods entered the Missouri Valley Conference the following year. The loss of Washburn left the Central with only five members. Wichita University, which had vied with Washburn for conference honors, found a new rival in Fort Hays State. The Western Kansans won the conference title in 1934 and 1936. Pittsburg Teachers has had some strong teams. In 1935 they were tied with Wichita for the title.

St. Benedict's, the only Kansas Catholic college in competitive athletics since St. Mary's changed its educational policy in 1931, began to produce some fine teams under the able coaching of Larry "Moon" Mullins, former Notre Dame star. The Atchison team was admitted to the Central Conference in 1939. St. Benedict's "Ravens" were one of the eight undefeated and untied football teams in the nation in 1936. The Notre Dame regime was continued under Marty Peters when Mullins went to Loyola of the South in 1937.

For the past three years Al Gebert's Wichita team has dominated the Central Conference. Ottawa, Baker and Kansas Wesleyan are leaders in the older conference. Washburn, after five lean years in the Missouri Valley, will leave the conference at the end of this season. Haskell, with a smaller enrollment and youthful material, has confined its competition to high-school teams since 1938.

Fifty years of college football in Kansas have seen many traditional rivalries wax and wane. Emporia Teachers outgrew the College of Emporia and an attempt to revive this annual classic in 1939 resulted in a one-sided victory for the Teachers. Wichita and Friends quit playing after the 1934 game which the municipal university won by a large score. Washburn no longer has a place on K. U. or Kansas State schedules except as a "breather." The Baker-

Ottawa, McPherson-Bethany, Hays-Kansas Wesleyan and Emporia Teachers-Pittsburg Teachers rivalries have continued. Washburn and Wichita are also rivals of long standing.

While a number of Kansas collegians have enjoyed brief careers in professional football, the success achieved by Glen Campbell and Dale Burnett of Emporia Teachers is outstanding. Campbell, end, and Burnett, fullback, were teammates at the Emporia school in 1928. Both were signed by the New York Giants after they left college. Campbell retired after a few years of competition, Burnett was on the Giants' roster until recently.

Two former Kansas college players, who later coached football where they learned the game, are nationally prominent in the officiating world. They are Ernest C. Quigley of St. Mary's and Dwight Ream of Topeka. Quigley is also a National League baseball umpire. For twenty-five years he has been in demand as a football official and has worked in some of the most important annual games. Ream, a Washburn halfback in 1912, 1913 and 1914, coached the Ichabods in 1920 and 1921. In recent years he has been recognized as one of the leading officials in the Middle West and worked in the Orange Bowl game at Miami on New Year's Day, 1940.

The game has undergone many changes since 1890 and the modern stream-lined football eleven presents a far different appearance from the heavily padded teams of the old days. When football was a game of bruising power and speed was nonessential the players weighted themselves down with cumbersome equipment. Heavy turtle-neck jerseys were protected from the strain of the push and pull style of play by laced canvas vests. Arm and shoulder pads, now worn underneath the jersey, were frankly in evidence. Sensitive shins were protected by shin-guards made of reinforced canvas that looked very much like lamp chimney wrappers strapped to the leg. Pants were of heavy canvas with thick padding. Rubber nose guards, held in place at the top by a strap around the head and at the bottom by a mouthpiece, gave the players a terrifying appearance.

Despite these precautions against injury to other portions of his anatomy the old-time player usually entrusted the safety of his cranium to a heavy crop of hair. A few wore a type of headgear that was primitive in design, but most of the warriors discarded this protection in the heat of battle.

Today, when emphasis is placed on speed, silk pants have replaced those of padded canvas, shin and nose guards have been relegated

to the museum. Jerseys are of light but durable material and the old vest has gone the way of the nose guard. Immunity against severe head injuries, however, is almost assured by the heavy leather helmet which is often dyed to harmonize in color with the rest of the uniform. Night football has popularized the white helmet, especially for pass receivers. The ball, too, is given a coat of white paint for use under the flood lights. Many players prefer to play without socks.

Now that football is a part of the athletic program in several hundred Kansas high schools the coaching profession is attracting collegians. Full-time coaches are seldom employed by the smaller high schools and the football tutor is usually required to spend some time in the classroom in addition to his afternoons on the practice field or in the stadium. Consequently the three teachers' colleges are enjoying an advantage over the small denominational colleges, for football players who plan to take up high-school coaching must also equip themselves to teach English, mathematics and other high-school courses in order to pass the requirements of exacting school officials.

College and high-school athletic coaches from several states in the Missouri Valley and Rocky Mountain areas attend an annual coaching school at Washburn College, Topeka. The school, which offers a schedule of instruction in football, baseball, basketball and track, is held during the latter part of August. It is sponsored by the Kansas State High School Activities Association. This vacation institute for the men who earn a living by teaching competitive sports was established in 1933 through the efforts of Ernest A. Thomas, director of the association. The peak attendance was 223 in 1938.

Among the nationally celebrated football coaches who have conducted classes at the school are Lynn Waldorf, Northwestern; "Bo" McMillan, Indiana; "Jock" Sutherland, formerly of Pittsburgh; Madison "Matty" Bell, Southern Methodist; Bernie Bierman, Minnesota; Andy Kerr, Colgate; Leo R. "Dutch" Meyer, Texas Christian, and H. O. "Fritz" Crisler, Michigan. It is the second largest coaching school in the country and the only one that is sponsored by a high-school activities association.⁸⁶

86. *Ibid.*, August 18, 1940.

Bypaths of Kansas History

THE DOUBLE-BARRELED CANNON

From the *Freemen's Champion*, Prairie City, February 25, 1858.

The Border Ruffians, like the subjects of Great Britain who invaded our country in the days of the Revolution, have a peculiar aversion to Yankee tricks. They watch every movement of a Yankee as intently and suspiciously as a jealous lover does the operations of a rival. The following circumstance will exemplify this fact:

At Fort Scott the Ruffians have in their possession a large telescope which they use to scan the country about in that vicinity, to keep themselves apprised of the approach of "pesky Abolitionists." During the excitement occasioned by the recent difficulties down there, one day one of the "chivalric sons of the Sunny South" was taking a survey through the above mentioned object, when his devout attention was arrested by the discovery of a suspicious-looking concern some four miles distant, in the direction of Fort Bayne. He discerned a long, black object, with two holes in the end fronting towards him, mounted on four wheels. Adjacent were two covered wagons, several horses and men. His curiosity was excited. He peered, studied and conjectured. What could it be? Something serious was in the wind. He racked his brain to its innermost depths in his efforts to elucidate the mystery. The brains of the "chivalric" subject were inadequate for the purpose. He summoned assistance. A crowd of kindred subjects soon assembled. Yes! that was it. It could be nothing else. It was a *double-barreled cannon*!—a new Yankee invention! It was Captain Bayne's company, fully equipped for war, bent on the destruction of their headquarters. Sensations of terror and dismay pierced the hearts of the Fort Scott Ruffian subjects. A deputation was formed to wait on the beseigers to ascertain their motives. The new invention was approached—when, thank Heaven! it was nothing of a more serious nature than the *boiler of a steam saw-mill*, which it proved to be! which was being conveyed by a company of strangers to a point on the Osage river.

The "chivalry of the Sunny South" are *vigilant*, as well as sensitive! No new *Yankee invention* will get the better of their circumspectness!

CATCHING WILD HORSES IN KANSAS TERRITORY

From *The Weekly Kansas Herald*, Leavenworth, reprinted in *The Kansas Messenger*, Baldwin City, January 1, 1859.

We notice in the *Palermo Leader*, an offer of a reward of \$500 for the capture of a certain milk white wild mare, now running at large in Dickinson county. She is described as a "natural trotter, never breaks her gait; time supposed to be, 2, 19½."

It is not generally known that wild horses are found in several localities in Kansas. At the time of the first settlement of the country they were quite numerous, but since then many have been captured, killed and run out until

they are now becoming quite scarce. Several herds still remain upon the western portions of the Delaware reserve, and some exist in other reserves and unsettled portions of the territory.

It is only the poorest and slowest of these horses which fall prisoners to the wiles of the hunter. Many of them defy alike the swiftest and longest pursuit; baffle the best skill and cunning of the hunter, and generally succeed in showing "clean heels" in every attempt to capture. With them "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"; and possessing sharp and acute senses of sight and hearing, and almost remarkable power of scent, they are ever on the alert in their use, to guard against surprise or trickery.

All of these horses have a "natural gait," either trotting, pacing or galloping, and from these gaits they never break; even in the swiftest pursuit. Many pacers have been found which could outrun the swiftest American horse brought against them.

These wild horses have sprung from Indian ponies, which, escaping into the wilderness and relapsing into a wild state, have produced the present stock.

In many instances American horses, escaping from their owners while crossing the plains, have joined these herds, and produced a cross between the two. This variety is a great improvement upon each of the originals, uniting the endurance of the Indian pony with swiftness and grace of the American breed.

The capture of the wild horse, besides being a dangerous undertaking, is one requiring great skill in the use of the *lasso*, as also a knowledge of the habits of the animals themselves. The mares will defend their colts with great ferocity, and the studs will often come to the rescue of a comrade in the toils of the hunter.

A common plan, and one that is oftentimes successful, is corraling. This is done by choosing a suitable place, generally in the timber, where the herd are in the habit of crossing a creek, by building a *corral* or pen some distance from the creek, with wings extending to the bank on each side of the trail used by the herd. This being done, a party of several men, mounted upon swift horses, will proceed to hunt the herd. Finding them, they give chase, and endeavor to turn them in the direction of the concealed corral. They are often successful. The herd will follow their customary trail, cross the creek, enter the wings, and being pursued closely by the horsemen, are forced into the corral, when a gate is closed on them by a man concealed for that purpose. After being securely entrapped they are starved for some time, in order to render them gentle, then lassoed and taken out, and easily broken to the saddle or harness, as their owners may desire.

Another method of capture is sometimes resorted to. In the summer and fall the horses are always in good condition, and to undertake to run them down is a fruitless task, but in the late winter, or early spring, they are generally in a poor condition. During the winter season they subsist upon the dry grass in the bottoms, and the bark and buds of the elm and other trees. This is but a scant subsistence, and a loss of flesh, speed and bottom must be the consequence. The hunters take advantage of this, and often succeed in running them down; but it is generally conceded that at least one good horse is ruined for every wild horse captured in this manner.

Another method is sometimes tried—the horse is shot with a rifle ball in the upper part of the neck, about a foot from the ears. The effect is an instant

paralyzation of his strength, loss of the use of his limbs and an instantaneous tumbling to the ground. This effect only lasts a few minutes, and the hunter must instantly seize the opportunity to tie his feet and otherwise secure him before he recovers. The horse is uninjured, and if he recovers before the hunter secures him, he will escape, and perhaps show fight. This method, requiring great skill in approaching to the necessary distance, an unerring aim, and attended with considerable danger, is not often resorted to, and is seldom successful.

Continual efforts are being made to capture these wild horses, by organized parties. They succeed in one way or the other, and sometimes shoot them when they fail to take them alive. They have been thus thinned out; and are fast decreasing. The "flowers of the flock" only remain, and the one referred to above is one of this class. In a few years they will all be gone.

TO FORT RILEY BY STEAMBOAT

The log of the Kansas river steamer *Gus Linn* as printed in the *Lawrence Republican*, May 26, 1859.

On Board *Col. Gus Linn*,
Fort Riley, K. T., May 19, 1859.

Friends Thachers:—As a matter of considerable interest to your home and river readers, I herewith enclose you the "log" of the New Kansas River Packet, *Col. Gus Linn*, from Kansas City to Fort Riley:

OFFICIAL LOG

May 10th—11 o'clock A. M.—Left Kansas City with a full complement of passengers and an assorted cargo, consisting principally of lumber, groceries, and hardware, of 140 tons, three-fourths of which is for Manhattan and the fort. Among the former are Col. R. H. Nelson, of Kansas City, and J. D. Chesnut, Esq., an influential and well known citizen of Wyandot [now Kansas City], both largely interested in their respective cities, and both bound on the same general prospecting tour to "ye Upper Country." With this load on board, the *Linn* draws but 23 inches forward and 18 inches aft.

1 o'clock—After landing at Wyandot and discharging several packages of freight, we finally took our departure for Lawrence and the Upper Kaw.

2 P. M.—Entered the "draw" of the Wyandot bridge. The idea that this bridge is an obstruction to river navigation, which I find to be a very prevalent one, ought, as far as I can learn, to be abandoned at once. We found five feet of water in the "draw," and Capt. Beasley anticipates little or no obstruction to navigation from the location of the bridge.

After a detention of several hours at De Soto, about 35 miles distant from Kansas City, occasioned by the breaking of the rock shaft, we arrived at Lawrence at 7 P. M., Wednesday 11th.

Here we discharged several tons of freight. (Principally hardware for Messrs. Allen & Gilmore.)

Thursday, 12th—9 A. M.—Left the levee midst the plaudits of the assembled citizens. Weather beautiful and navigation all that could be desired.

1:30 P. M.—Passed the “Silver Lake” aground on a bar, bound down. The Captain looking very excited, not knowing where he was.

The river between Lawrence and Lecompton is exceedingly crooked, (this will very well apply to the whole river,) and owing to the scarcity of wood along the banks we met with troublesome delays.

3 P. M.—Lecompton. Here we were waited on by a delegation of citizens, among whom I recognized Col. Hemenway, mine host of the Rowena hotel; D. S. McIntosh, Esq., and others, and tendered all the hospitalities of the town. After spending a couple of hours with the Lecomptonites, our staunch little craft was once more headed up stream for Topeka.

The navigation of the river between these two points is easy and safe, the channel averaging from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 feet deep, with, but comparatively few shoal spots. The banks of the river are picturesque and the scenery generally beautiful.

Friday, 13th—10 o'clock A. M. Arrived at Tecumseh, the county seat of Shawnee county, pleasantly situated on the south bank of the river, about a hundred miles from its mouth.

1:30 P. M. Boat took a sudden shear into the bank and broke her rudder. Laid up 3 hours for repairs.

7 P. M. Topeka. Laid up for the night.

Saturday, 14th. 6 A. M. Aground half a mile west of Topeka.

Indulged in sparring and other gymnastic exercises for some time, when we fortunately got loose and proceeded on our way rejoicing.

12:15 A. M. Shot a large wolf along here.

6 P. M. Excellent stage of water all day—average progress four miles.

Sunday, 15th—4 P. M. St. Mary's mission, Pottawatomie reserve. This mission was established some twelve years ago. The settlement round the mission consists of about 2,000 souls, Indians, half-breeds and whites, and is under the spiritual charge of Father Schultz.

Monday, 16th. 10 A. M. Wabonsa [Wabaunsee]. This place contains one store and about 15 or 20 small houses. It is a county seat, however, and the prospective terminus of an important railroad. It also claims the finest town site in the territory. But that of course!

Passed the embryo city of St. George, about 10 miles from Wabonsa.

3:30 P. M. We reached the junction of the Kaw and Big Blue rivers, and moored right in full view of the flourishing young city of Manhattan. Here we found Hon. A. J. Mead, Col. W. M. Snow, Rev. Mr. Blood and other influential citizens, waiting to receive us. News of our arrival spread like wild fire through the town, and in less than fifteen minutes the boat was literally taken by storm. Though somewhat blue over the havoc caused by a furious tornado the day before, everybody expressed themselves delighted with the boat and everybody and everything on board. Supper over, the cabin was quickly cleared, and music and dancing filled the programme till long after midnight, when the company dispersed with three cheers for the “Gus Linn and all hands.”

Tuesday, 17th. A sudden rise in the Kaw, caused by the heavy rains of the past week, gave us an excellent stage of water to the Fort, where we are just arrived.

Throughout the whole trip, extending over five days, nothing occurred to impair the faith all on board feel in the successful navigation of the river. Certain it is that if the *Col. Gus. Linn*, with Ben. Beasley as captain, Charley Budd as clerk, Uncle George Davis as pilot, "Bill" Morriss as mate, Dan. Watkins as *charge d'affaires* of the bottle department, and a picked crew of as good hands as ever left St. Louis, cannot navigate the Kaw, no other boat or set of boatmen need try.

That they may have abundant success should be the wish and endeavor of every merchant of St. Louis.

Yours

ED. H.

TOWNS AND LANDINGS ON THE KAW RIVER FROM KANSAS CITY OR WYANDOT

		Miles
To De Soto	30	..
" Lawrence	35	65
" Lecompton	19	84
" Tecumseh	20	104
" Topeka	8	112
" St. Mary's Mission	17	129
" Louisville	12	141
" Wabonsa [Wabaunsee]	15	156
" St. George	10	166
" Manhattan	11	177
" Ashland	11	188
" Ogden	10	198
" Riley City	10	208
" Fort Riley	4	212
" Junction City	9	221
Distance by land route.....	125	...
Difference	96	221

ADVICE FROM MISSOURI

From the *Daily Kansas City Western Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, August 18, 1860.

DISTILLERY FOR KANSAS.—Yesterday we noticed on our streets some half dozen wagons loaded with some suspicious looking machinery. Upon inquiring, we learned that it was quite an extensive distillery—its destination, Wilmington [Wabaunsee county], Kansas territory. "Nice times den," when they get that fire water manufactory in full blast out there. It is our own opinion that, with the present scarcity of corn in Kansas, our neighbors over the line would do better to make what they have into bread rather than "tangle foot."

WHEN THE MAILS DIDN'T GO THROUGH

From *The Independent*, Oskaloosa, February 6, 1864.

Our mails may be returned in the language of the Kentucky constable "*Non comeatabus, up a stumpabus*."—Sometimes we get them and sometimes we don't; and this week, since Monday, *we don't*. It is said that all the coaches are detained above, but whether by mud or water, or something else, we are not advised. As "all that goes up must come down," we presume there will be a great downward movement some of these days.

From the *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, June 25, 1870.

The mail troubles continue, and it does seem very strange that in the county seat of Wabaunsee, one of the most populous counties in the state, there is only a weekly mail, and that not regularly delivered. Would it not be a good idea for the government to give up the pretense of carrying the mail, and see if private enterprise would not devise some remedy for the abominable swindle now perpetrated in the mail carrying business. It may be a huge joke, but if it is somebody may laugh with the wrong side of their mouths at it before the fun is over. By the way, the Fort Scott papers want to know why it takes longer for mails to reach that point from Leavenworth than St. Louis.

From the *Buckner Independent*, Jetmore, December 3, 1880.

OUR MAILS.—On the 16th ult., we had no mail from Kinsley on account of the slight snow storm that came up on the night previous, and the delicacy of that kid glove mail carrier, Eastman—the man that never has put in an appearance on any day that the weather has been inclement. On this same day the Dodge and Hays mail came in on time, and after waiting about three-quarters of an hour on postmaster Frush, he departed without the mail being opened. On Wednesday the Kinsley man came, and as the postmaster was again absent, he (the Kinsley man), like the Dodge and Hays man, left without his mail being looked over. Since that time, the 17th ult., the Kinsley man has made about four trips, and the Dodge and Hays mail has come very regular, not missing a trip. Such is the manner in which our mail is handled. If it isn't the postmaster, it's the mail carrier—we don't mean the Dodge and Hays boys, by any means.

ON A HUNT FOR THE MAIL.—We started out on Monday night last to get our mail. We went to the geographical center, the supposed location of the office, but it warn't thar. We went to the house of the postmaster, a distance of about a mile from the supposed location of the office, but it warn't thar. We learned, however, that Mr. Fulton had the key and that he would open the mail. The question with us then was one which bothered us considerable, *i. e.*, whether we would find Fulton at his old boarding house, or whether we would find him at the place where he and a friend of his commenced keeping bachelor's hall some time since. This was enough for us, and we came home. Our partner took a horse and started out to find the man that had the key to the mail bag, and he succeeded in finding him at Mr. Cain's, where the mail was opened. This is attending to the mail with a vengeance. Sometimes

it is opened one place, and sometimes another. We wouldn't be surprised to hear of it being opened in Frush's cow camp before long.

The mail which should have gone out on Monday night had to lay over a day on account of the mail being distributed away from the postoffice that evening.

A BUFFALO HUNT IN HAYS

From the *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, February 9, 1868.

One of our citizens received a letter from Hays, last evening, that detailed an exciting buffalo hunt in the heart of the city, a few days before. A large herd came in sight, upon which citizens and soldiers turned out, pellmell, for a chase. In charging upon the herd it divided, and a part headed directly for the town and dashed through the streets. Of course there was some little excitement, and all hands, men, women and children, joined in an indiscriminate war upon the invaders. Everything of the fire-arm kind was brought into requisition, and a general fusilade was bought to bear from doors and windows. Whether any were killed in the streets was not stated, but the writer remarked that fresh buffalo meat was very plentiful. Several parties had gone down the road to enjoy a game hunt, as game was very plentiful at a distance of twenty or thirty miles.

AN AFFAIR OF HONOR IN OTTAWA

From the *Ottawa Journal*, June 9, 1870.

Early on Monday morning, a rumor prevailed that a duel had been fought between two young bloods, residents of Ottawa, the cause thereof being only surmised; but it was hinted that a fair lady, who could not reciprocate the flattering attentions of both, was the cause of meeting on the gory field, with intent to pour out each other's blood while innocent birds were pouring their matutinal songs of welcome to the god of day. But, to the facts, so far as they can be ascertained, for, as our reporter has said, they are all reticent. Ed. DeWolf, with W. S. Crosby as second, and John Dayfoot, with H. E. Brooks as squire, took horse at four o'clock and started southeast of the college, and selecting a suitable spot, measured off ten paces and took positions. At the word, both fired, but without effect. At the second fire, Dayfoot was struck near the knee and knocked down, when DeWolf jumped into his saddle and started off, supposing he had killed his man. His second called loudly for his return, when he looked back and saw the supposed corpse on his feet, he having received but a slight wound, and returned. The rivals then shook hands, wounded love and pride having been satisfied, and soon reached town. After the authorities began examining into the affair, and matters looked legally serious, an attempt was made to turn the matter off as a hoax, but the facts are about as we have given them. The report that DeWolf, having a "plaster" on his neck, was wounded, is incorrect. It is to be hoped this is the last "affair of honor" in our city; and the authorities are determined to enforce the penalties against all such highhanded breaches of the law in future.

FRONTIER JUSTICE

From the *Wichita Vidette*, October 13, 1870.

We take great pleasure in announcing the return of Captain Plyli, well known to our community. All know his mission: To hunt up and bring to punishment the cold blooded murderer of Uncle Jesse, his then partner. In all the months of his absence he has followed on his track with the unremitting vigilance of a Javert, never tiring, scarcely sleeping, from California to the Atlantic coast, through Texas and up to the Creek nation. It required a cool head and a steady hand to meet Murray, who was himself said to be one of the most reckless, cool blooded and relentless murderers ever known to frontier life. Captain Plyli has accomplished in thus taking his life in his own hands and going out to meet on the frontier, alone, such a man, what but few would dare to do. He has, in hunting him up without assistance or photograph, done more than ever was boasted by the most sagacious of New York or London detectives. Captain Plyli found Murray in the Creek nation. Murray fired three shots at the captain on sight, missing him each fire. The captain rode up on Murray—He was buried not far from where he camped, and the captain brought his pony and revolver in to help pay expenses of travel.

HAYS SHOWS BARNUM A THING OR TWO

From the *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, October 26, 1870.

P. T. Barnum, wishing to gratify his taste for curiosities, stopped off at Hays City to see the "man-eaters" of that town "eat." He fell in with several of the more carnal-minded youth of the place, who invited him to be sociable and take a hand at poker. The cards that were dealt to his companions literally "knocked the spots off" of anything Mr. Barnum had ever "held" in his life, and, when the exercises of the solemn occasion were ended, Phineas mourned the departure of \$150 that he will never see, not any more. "Woolly horses" and "Feejee mermaids" are nice things to have, but they don't weigh out much playing poker at Hays City. Barnum will probably incorporate his Hays City experience into his famous lecture, "How to Make Money."

QUIET, PLEASE!

Compositors employed on today's newspapers will be interested in the "Office Rules and Regulations" in force in the composing room of the *Leavenworth Times* in the early days. The seventeen regulations, set 25 ems wide, were printed on a galley proofsheet. The Historical Society secured a photostat, through the courtesy of Elsie Evans, librarian of the Leavenworth Public Library, and it is reprinted here.

TIMES' OFFICE RULES AND REGULATIONS.

No. 1.

It shall be the duty of the boy in charge immediately after opening up the office in the morning to pick up all type on the floor and under the stands, and put the same in each compositor's stick who is required to distribute the same immediately on going to his case. He will then sweep the rooms neatly, clean the sinks, trim and fill the lamps. He will keep fresh water in the bucket, keep the fire and sink in good order, and at other leisure time distribute type and work under the direction of the Foreman.

No. 2.

Compositors will be prompt on time ready for work at one o'clock P. M. It is required that they walk quietly up stairs into the office, hang up hats and coats and proceed quietly to work distributing cases. Composition to commence at 3 o'clock and work until 5 o'clock P. M., and from 7 o'clock P. M., until the paper is up.

No. 3.

No conversation other than that pertaining to the work of the office will be allowed under any circumstances during working hours, and all discussions and controversies are strictly prohibited.

No. 4.

No visitors are permitted in the Composing Room. Parties having visitors will meet them in the office.

No. 5.

When a case is taken from the rack the compositors will return it to its proper place immediately after he is done with it.

No. 6.

Window frames, fat galleys and all other places to be kept free from pi or loose type.

No. 7.

Any one throwing type at another or throwing type or material around the room will be discharged at once.

No. 8.

All employes of THE TIMES are expected to give their undivided attention to the business of the office during business hours.

No. 9.

All loud talking is strictly prohibited; all playing, scuffling and noisy demonstrations are also expressly prohibited.

No. 10.

Employes in their necessary conversation with each other on business are requested to speak in a subdued tone and make as little noise as possible.

No. 11.

All type and material used to be distributed and cleared away as soon as dead.

No. 12.

In putting away material leave it better than you found it. Do not make the quad box a museum; always empty the water basin when done with it. Never throw water on the floor. Don't smoke or use profane language, or drink whisky.

No. 13.

All ads. when temporarily set aside must be carefully tied up to prevent same being pied.

No. 14.

The Foreman and compositors are prohibited from writing any article and publishing in the paper. Any news which they may have must in all cases be submitted to the City Editor. Should any legitimate news come to the office after the editor has left it should be published by the Foreman.

No. 15.

The Foreman will report in writing the time he or any of the employes are absent during working hours.

No. 16.

The Foreman is particularly instructed to enforce the foregoing rules and promptly report any violation of them.

No. 17.

The paper must go to press promptly at 3 o'clock a. m., unless important telegraph or local news compels delay.

D. R. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

PLAYING THE HORSES

From the *Netawaka Chief*, October 9, 1873.

When will our Wetmore wiseacres get done fooling with greenies. The following is from the *Holton News*:

One day last week, a young man, apparently a boy, dressed rather roughly, and riding an old looking horse, stopped at Wetmore to rest and get dinner, and feed his horse. Upon inquiry, he said he was going to the Homestead region. Some of the "sports" in the town had been training their horses for racing. They more for amusement than anything else, bantered the "homesteader" for a race for a purse of \$300. After considerable talk and bluster, the stranger concluded to run his horse. When the time came to run the old coat was pulled off, and lo! a scarlet jacket was there. No sooner did the horse see the red jacket, when he picked up his ears, and it required three men to hold him while the saddle was being adjusted and the rider mounted. It is only necessary to add, that the money was won by the "homesteader," leaving the Wetmore chaps waiting for "the next!"

The same game was played by the same fellow at Seneca.

AGRICULTURAL NOTE

From the *Inland Tribune*, Great Bend, July 19, 1879.

James Rust and Mary Wheat, who were married the past year in this county, have just been blessed with twins. This is the first instance on record where wheat struck by rust has produced a double yield.

F. O. B. UNION PACIFIC

From the *Wallace County Register*, Wallace, March 5, 1887.

We beg leave to suggest that immigrants be allowed to hitch their teams to the freight trains on the U. P. and bring them along. A car of lumber or a few boxes of goods might get here within a month or two after they are ordered. Our merchants are pestered with sight drafts for goods they have never seen nor heard of since they bought them. A few good engines ought to be provided, one would think.

GLORY ENOUGH!

From the *Dighton Republican*, July 13, 1887.

Some enthusiastic Kansas editor, whose name has been lost by the papers copying the item, says: "When the roll call is sounded on the judgment day and the heavens are rolling together as a scroll, and the reverberations of wrecked and ruined worlds peal forth the fiat of eternal rest, I want to hang my weary bones on the galley rack of immortality and register in four-line pica as a man from Kansas."

AN OSAGE WEDDING

From *The Sun*, Parsons, December 17, 1901.

A Cherryvale man, who was in the Osage nation, in the Indian territory, a short time ago, witnessed a peculiar marriage custom among the Indians of that nation. It was a swell wedding among the aristocracy of this tribe of Indians, and he tells of it in detail.

It was a marriage of Peter Red Eagle to Miss Celia Pawnee-no-Pashee and the ceremony in accordance with an ancient rite of the "blue blood" of the Osages. The bride was sold in marriage, the highest bidder being the successful contestant. The price paid for the bride this time is said to have been the highest ever known in the Osage nation. Twenty-four ponies, a set of harness and a buggy made up the purchase price.

That this custom of selling in marriage still exists among the Osages may be a surprise to the unsophisticated, but it is nevertheless true. The applicants for the young lady's heart are arranged in a semi-circle around a block. The prospective bride attired in silks of the gaudiest hues is then brought

forth. She is mounted on a pony and blindfolded. Her father mounts the block and acts as auctioneer. The bidding then begins.

According to the ironclad rule of the Osage aristocracy, only full bloods are allowed to bid. The bidding done, the successful bidder pursues his prize, but she, being mounted on a fleet steed, eludes her pursuer and escapes to the tent. There she is disrobed of her wearing apparel and it is torn in two. Half of it is retained by her parents and half by the groom.

Payment for the bride is invariably made in ponies and buggies. For the first year after the marriage the wedded pair must dwell with the bride's parents. After that they are at liberty to seek their own lodge.

EARLY DAY UNION PACIFIC FIRING

From *The Republic*, Junction City, May 11, 1939.

Fred Taylor gives us this story, told him by his uncle, Wm. Asmussen, now a retired merchant of Wamego, who was a fireman on the Union Pacific in the very earliest days—when wood burning engines snorted across the prairies.

After leaving Junction City for the trip west they loaded the tender with wood at J. C., just south of the depot where the freight depot now stands. After pulling the long grade before reaching Goose creek they had to stop and load up again to make the run to Chapman. While the engineer held a buffalo gun in his arms the fireman would load tender. The reason for carrying guns was that the Indians would attack trains and, after running the trainmen away, would try with their lariats to lasso the smokestack and try and pull the engine off the track. Do the firemen of today realize what it meant to load 5 or 6 cords of wood on a tender and then fire that engine so the engineer could pull what cars he had in those days?

Kansas History as Published in the Press

"Early Days in Abilene," a series of historical articles dealing with the romantic past of one of Kansas' most interesting cities, was written in 1896 by J. B. Edwards, a pioneer settler, and printed in that year in the *Abilene Chronicle*. In June and July, 1938, it was reprinted in the *Daily Chronicle*, and it has now been published as a sixteen-page pamphlet, with added material from Edwards' papers.

Since its organization on July 1, 1939, the Clark County Chapter of the Kansas State Historical Society has made marked progress both in membership and in range of activities. The secretary, Mrs. J. C. Harper, conducts a weekly column in the *Clark County Clipper*, of Ashland, in which the work of the society is reported and brief articles on county history are printed. Following is a summary of the more important items, with the dates on which they appeared in the *Clipper*: August 24, 1939—Notes on the Driscoll boys, cowboys in the county in the late 1870's, by Mrs. M. C. Campbell of Wichita. September 7—A historical sketch of School District 40, by Mrs. W. H. Shattuck, originally published in the *Clipper*, August 11, 1938. September 14—Information on the redout on Bluff creek in the Ravenscraft pasture, from Mr. and Mrs. M. W. Anshutz, of Beaver county, Okla. September 21—Pioneer reminiscences of Mrs. Ella Zane, who came to Clark county from Iowa in 1886. September 28—"Pioneer Post Offices," an article by B. Wilburn Mayse, reviewing the organization and history of post-offices at several points in the county. Additional information on this subject appeared in the *Clipper* on October 26 and November 2. October 5—An article, "Biggest Hoax Ever Perpetrated on the Citizens of Appleton Township," by Miss Nellie S. Tawzer of Minneola. This account deals with a sugar factory organized in 1888, which was the cause of years of litigation in the Kansas courts. October 19—Recollections of S. P. Reynolds, chiefly about the Reynolds stage line established by his father, P. G. Reynolds, in the early 1870's. November 2—Reminiscences of C. W. Evans, who came to Clark county in 1884, later returning to his old home in Ohio; and another story of pioneer postoffices by John R. Walden, now of Winfield. November 9—An article, "Cimarron Redoubt at Deep Hole," by John R. Walden; and another account of the same redoubt by India H. Simmons, taken from the *Dodge City Daily*

Globe of March 26, 1937. November 23—Report of the first annual pioneer mixer of the society, held at Ashland on November 15. The address of the president, Mrs. Lois McCasland Martin, was printed; and in addition the column contained an article, "Memoirs of an Early Western Kansan," by Mrs. John B. Smith, who migrated from Illinois in 1887. December 7—Description of a grave, perhaps the earliest in the county, which was discovered in 1935 by Cecil Mull. According to the description, written by Mrs. Minnie Lucas Roberts, the grave is that of a baby, and the ornaments and other relics found in it would indicate that it may be Spanish or Spanish-Indian in origin. December 21—An article, contributed by Mary Katherine Yunker, entitled "Early Pioneering of My Grandfather," by Joseph Hensley. December 28—Articles on the North Redoubt by John Walden and India H. Simmons, the latter reprinted from the Dodge City *Daily Globe* of March 26, 1937; and material on the Benedictine monastery "Bueffel Au," established in 1876 north of Ashland, by Dorothy Berryman Shrewder. Mrs. Shrewder, historian of the Clark county Council of Women's Clubs, had previously written a story of the monastery for the *Clipper* of June 29, 1939, which was mentioned in the *Quarterly* of August, 1939. January 4, 1940—Articles on the first school in Ashland, opened in October, 1885, and the first baseball team, the "Claim-Holders"; and Clark county's first Sunday School picnic and first county fair, held respectively in 1885 and 1886. January 11—Biography of Burton H. "Barbecue" Campbell, an early-day Clark county rancher, by Mrs. Melville (J. C.) Harper, which was continued in the issues of January 25 and February 1. January 18—Story of the old cattle trails, by John R. Walden. March 14—Memoranda on the naming of Clark county and the town of Ashland. March 28—An article, "Ghost Towns of Clark County," by John R. Walden, including the history of Clark City, Appleton, Letitia, Vesta, Aurora (Lexington) and Cash City, all early towns which failed to survive. April 4, 11 and 18—Biographical and historical material on the Messing family, which came to Kansas in 1866. April 25—The story of Henry Mull, Sr., a Clark county pioneer, by Ruth Clark Mull. May 2 and 9—"An Early Day Story" by Mrs. Ina Cole Ford, dealing with the experiences of the Young, Rounds and Cole families, Kansas pioneers, in the latter 1880's. May 16—A brief sketch of the Dudley family, the earliest thus far reported in Clark county, and an account by John R. Walden of the first wedding in the county. May 23 and 30—"A Missionary Trip

Through Southern Kansas in 1876," being excerpts from the manuscript written in 1922 by the late Father Boniface Verheyen, O. S. B., and published here for the first time. May 30—Reminiscences of Mrs. Samuel F. Broadie, who came to western Kansas in 1886. This was reprinted with some variations on June 6.

The Phillips County Review, of Phillipsburg, in its issue of August 24, 1939, printed a partial list of the Phillipsburg high-school graduates from 1889 to 1939, inclusive, with a brief biographical sketch of each. The issue was devoted largely to the Phillipsburg high school, featuring interior and exterior views of the new high-school building, dedicated August 23, 1939, and pictures of the earlier high-school graduating classes.

In September, 1874, four small girls were captured by Cheyenne Indians and carried off into the southern prairie region. In December, 1939, one of the girls, now Mrs. Adelaide Andrews, of Bern, revisited the scene of her capture, which she believed occurred a few miles east of Russell Springs, near Six Mile creek, Logan county. All the girls were rescued, though their parents, Mr. and Mrs. John German, and their brother and two other sisters had been murdered by the Indians. Three of the captives are still living. The editor of *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, interviewed Mrs. Andrews for his issue of December 28, 1939, and the story was reprinted in the *Logan County News*, Winona, on January 4, 1940.

Victor Murdock's historical feature articles published in recent issues of the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* include: "As Wichita Looked Back Sixty-nine Years Ago on Leading Local Events [as gleaned from the diary of Charles C. Fees]," January 1, 1940; "Roll Call of Settlers Here Before Wichita Started With Plats, March 25, 1870," January 3; "[Ella B. Wichman Miller] Among Last Now Living to Arrive in Wichita From Afar by Ox-Team," January 5; "One Section in Kansas Once a Favored Haunt of Many Monster Sharks," January 11; "Wichita's First Merchant Whose Parents Named Him After King David's Priest," January 19; "Earliest Life Insurance Issued Here in Wichita [to William Greiffenstein, taken with the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company in 1874] Has Now Come to Light," February 13; "Time When the Santa Fe Extended Its Steel Rails on Out to Medicine Lodge," February 17; "Trips of Father [David McClain] and Son [Washington McClain] Taken Forty Years Apart Into Santa Fé Trail West," February 21; "Death of Frank Redfield Reduces a Notable

Group Coming Here From Humboldt," March 11; "One Thirty-Day Journey in a Wagon Across Kansas Marked by Hospitality," March 16; "First Community Ever Here Belonged to an Indian Tribe Long Familiar With Prairies," March 25; "When South of Wichita One, Ben Simon of Kansas, Cleaned Up Confederacy," March 26; "Wichitas Were Peaceful But Still For Twenty Years They Kept Two Cannon," March 27; "One Session of a Court [in Hugoton] Where Judge [Botkin] Kept His Feet From the First to the Last," April 4; "Sheridan Name for Wichita Was an Early Day Scheme Which Was to Die a-Bornin'," April 6; "First Town Companies Dealing With Wichita Appeared in the Year 1868," April 12; "When Two Town Companies Decided on Newton Site as Location For a City," April 16; "Once Crossing Arkansas Getting Out of Wichita Was Dangerous Business," April 19; "An Eye Witness Account Of Payne's Deportation After Oklahoma Invasion," May 9; "How Trip From Wichita Was Taken to the East Before the Railroad Came," May 13; "When Prairies Produced Money For the Settlers Before Farming Had Begun [as revealed by J. R. Mead's Journals]," May 14; "Early Reference Found to Number of Grass Homes Indians Had at Wichita," May 15; "Nine Kansas Farm Boys Gave 325 Years of Life to the Railroad Calling," May 16; "Moving Entry in Journal of the [J. R.] Mead Trading Post at Towanda Many Years Ago," May 17; "Oxen While Very Useful For Breaking Prairie Sod Were Not Much For Style," May 20; "Profitable Point in Sand in This Part of Kansas When It Is Made Into Glass," May 25; "How a Very Few Families Made Up First Community in the County of Sedgwick," June 1; "Part Organic Matter Plays in Winning West's Battle Against the Dust Storms," June 6; "Heart-Stirring Story of Mrs. Greiffenstein's Hope To Save Mrs. Blinn," June 7; "Evolution of Prairie Into Wichita Town Lots Shown in an Account Book," June 14; "Watching a Procession Over a Prairie Highway With No Desire to Join It," June 17; "Interest of Wichitans in Value of Town-Lots Traced Back to Early Day," June 21; "Wichita Messenger Boy [Nat Marsh] First in the Delivery of Telegrams Back in 1872," June 24; "Great Lesson in Living Learned By the Faculty in an Early College Here," June 26; "Rare Old City Directory Shows State of Industry Here Sixty-Two Years Ago," June 27.

Included among the feature articles of historical interest pertaining to Kansas recently printed in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star* are the following: "A Forgotten 'Call of Kansas' [a poem by Lucy

Larcom of Boston], And One That Will Never Die," by Cecil Howes, January 2, 1940; "A Kansan, Edwin Emery Slosson, Pioneered in Popularizing Science [condensed and reprinted from the 1940 issue of the *Kansas Magazine*, Manhattan]," January 16; "Earl Browder, Radical From Kansas, Has Ruled U. S. Reds for a Decade," January 24; "Arbor Day Originated on Treeless Prairies of Nebraska and Kansas," by Cecil Howes, March 4; "Early Kansas Settlers Dug Their Fence Posts Out of the Ground," by Cecil Howes, April 6; "Kansas, Now a Leading Producer, Once Offered a Bounty for Salt," by Cecil Howes, May 3; "Young Bill White Carries on a Great Newspaper Tradition," by Paul Fisher, June 17.

A biographical sketch of James M. Harvey, governor of Kansas and United States senator, written by his son James M. Harvey, Jr., of Ogden, appeared in the *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 7, 1940. The sketch included a brief review of pioneer experiences in Riley county during the 1860's, Governor Harvey's service as captain in the Kansas volunteers in the Civil war and as a colonel in the Kansas state militia which fought against the confederate Gen. Sterling Price, and a summary of his political career from his election to the state legislature as a representative from Riley county in 1865 to his defeat for reelection to the United States senate in 1877.

The approach of the cuarto-centennial anniversary of Coronado's famous explorations has revived the perennial historical controversy over the exact location of Quivira. Historians have at one time or another identified Quivira with sites ranging from Texas north to Nebraska and even into the Dakotas, but for many years Kansas has been generally accepted as the probable location. Paul Jones, of Lyons, widely known as an authority on Coronado and head of the Kansas Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission, believes the region to be in present central Kansas. Among other competent historians having the same view is Frederick W. Hodge who, in his *Handbook of American Indians* (1910), a standard work, identifies the Wichita Indians, then living in the region of the middle Arkansas river, in Kansas, with the people of Quivira whom Coronado encountered in 1541. (See, also, "Catholic First Things in Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VIII, pp. 208, 209.) Mr. Jones discussed the relative merits of the claims advanced for Kansas and Texas in an illustrated article in the *Hutchinson News*, January 7, 1940.

Feature articles of historical interest relating to Kansas, recently published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, include the following: "Boats Used to Steam Up and Down the Kaw Carrying Men and Supplies," by Cecil Howes, January 9, 1940; "Important Chapters Are Added to Romance of Chemical Research [by Dr. Mary Elvira Weeks, associate professor of chemistry at the University of Kansas]," by Hillier Krieghbaum, January 11; "Reporters in Finland [including W. L. White, Kansan, reporter for the North American Newspaper Alliance] Use Skis, Dodge Bullets in Killing Cold," condensed from *Editor & Publisher*, January 18; "There Are Reasons Why Kansans Must Orate, Sing and Shout Today [seventy-ninth anniversary of admission of Kansas to the union]," by Cecil Howes, January 29; "Coronado's Expedition to Kansas Started 400 Years Ago This Week," by Cecil Howes, February 20; "Nothing Could Match Doniphan's 'Rough, Ready and Ragged' Heroes [of 1846-1848]," condensed from *Harper's Magazine*, March 19; "Quadrill Left Dark Trail Here Before He Led Raid on Lawrence," by E. R. S., April 2; "Four Kansas Editors [Joseph M. Satterthwaite, Frank H. Roberts, Tom A. McNeal and Gomer T. Davies, each more than eighty years old] Who Have Been on the Job More Than Fifty Years," by Cecil Howes, May 9; "Kansas Cheers as the 'Big Train' [Walter Johnson, the famous baseball pitcher] Shows Speed in Political League," by John D. Weaver, May 23; "Lecompton Recalls Colorful Days as Territorial Capital of Kansas," by Margaret Whittemore, May 29.

Charles P. Butler, an early settler in Kansas, recalled pioneer days in Atchison county in the *Effingham New Leaf*, January 26, 1940. He mentioned the county-seat rivalry between Atchison and Monrovia, and some experiences of the early farmers and cattle feeders of the region.

Names of early settlers, and events in the early history of Leon were recalled by Estel Marie Pickrell in the *Leon News*, January 26, 1940. The occasion was the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the town, January 31.

Writing in the Dodge City *Daily Globe*, January 27, 1940, John R. Walden of Winfield recounted sources and incidents of the last "Indian scare" in Kansas. This scare, which occurred in 1885, was a hoax perpetrated by cattlemen in western Kansas in an effort to frighten settlers off the land. Although no attack ever took place, the threat was sufficiently real to bring United States troops to the

scene. The incident is an interesting sidelight on the struggle between farmers and the men of the open range.

Pioneer experiences of Mrs. Jane Cox Coburn in Kansas territory, and during the early years of statehood, were related by Mrs. Warren Knaus, a daughter, in the McPherson *Daily Republican* and the *Salina Journal*, January 29, 1940. A typed copy of Mrs. Knaus' manuscript was given to the Kansas State Historical Society by Mrs. Jessie Rowland, of McPherson.

The Coyote, semimonthly publication of the Ozawkie Rural High School, included in its issue of February 1, 1940, a historical section dealing with early events in and around the town. Based in part on interviews with older residents of the community, the articles dealt with a local landmark, the Old Red Mill, the first lawsuit in the county, the hanging of a horse thief, the meaning of the name "Ozawkie," the stealing of the county records during a county-seat fight, types of community entertainment in the early days, reminiscences of Ozawkie in 1856-1857 as taken from letters published in the Clariden (Iowa) *Herald*, and many other accounts of historical value. Several of the articles were reprinted in the Valley Falls *Vindicator*, beginning with the issue of February 28 and continuing through March.

On February 2, 1940, the Syracuse *Journal* began publication of "A History of Hamilton County," by W. F. Chollar. The first chapter was entitled "Colonization in Early Hamilton County." Other chapters are to appear in subsequent issues of the *Journal*.

W. M. Snyder recalled in the Peabody *Gazette-Herald*, February 8, 1940, the days of Peabody's fame as the home of fine race horses. One of these was a grandsire of Joe Patchen, sire of the great Dan Patch. Among the breeders and turf men he remembered were Willis, Roy and C. E. Westbrook, and M. M., Charles and Emmanuel Rathbone.

Experiences in western Kansas in 1885 were related by James W. Dappert in the Hugoton *Hermes*, February 16, 1940. Mr. Dappert was an early settler in Comanche county, and traveled through the western part of the state in the fall of 1885 in order to secure land claims.

Lester A. Harding is the author of two historical articles which were printed in the Yates Center *News*. In the issue of February 22, 1940, he told the story of "The Old Lone Tree of North Town-

ship," Woodson county, which was a landmark in the early days for Indians and pioneers. On April 11 his account dealt with "The Early German-Russian Colony of North Township," located temporarily in the neighborhood of present Nikkeltown.

The Planters house, historic Leavenworth hotel, was the subject of an eight-column article by Allan E. Paris in the Leavenworth Times, February 25, 1940. Opened in the fall of 1856, described by Horace Greeley as "a wonder of elegance and comfort," this old house was host to Greeley, Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Sarah Bernhardt, and many other famous persons. It was the scene of numerous incidents during the border warfare of the latter 1850's, and in the 1860's, when Western migration and trade were booming, the house prospered in proportion. By 1880 the Planters house had lost its popularity; thereafter it passed through many hands, but long after other hotels of the time have been forgotten the Planters remains a familiar name.

Experiences with schools and school boards fifty years ago in Russell county were related by H. P. Tripp, who taught at Spring Brook in 1890. The schoolmaster received \$24 a month for a three months' term and did chores for his board and room. The school-house, a stone building 12 by 18 feet with a dirt roof, burned down during the sixth week of school. Classes then adjourned to another stone building half a mile away and work was continued, even though the ten students had lost their books in the fire. Mr. Tripp's reminiscences appeared in the *Waldo Advocate*, February 26, the *Luray Herald*, February 29, and the *Natoma Independent*, March 7, 1940.

The historical column by S. C. Stone which first appeared in the *Wilson World* on February 28, 1940, under the title "Early Day Merchants," expanded its topic to "Early Day History of Wilson" beginning with the issue of April 10. It includes personal reminiscences and anecdotes of early days in Ellsworth county.

A series of articles entitled "Early History of Blue Rapids Township," written twenty-five years ago by John F. Hoyt, were printed in the *Irving Leader* beginning with the issue of February 29, 1940.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Masonic lodge at Hoisington was celebrated on February 27, reported the *Hoisington Dispatch* of February 29, 1940. Names of the original petitioners and charter members and officers who served the lodge in 1890 were listed.

"Jesse Chisholm Was First Trader to Sell at Wichita," was the subject of the first of a series of "Wichita Historical Panels" featured in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle*, beginning with the issue of March 4, 1940.

The Whitewater *Independent*, March 7, 1940, began its fifty-sixth year of publication with an anniversary edition dedicated to the schools of Whitewater. A brief historical sketch of the *Independent's* predecessors, a history of the Whitewater school system, and sketches of departments and organizations in the schools were printed.

Waverly's early history was reviewed by Warren Fitch in the Waverly *Gazette*, March 7, 1940.

The Manhattan *Mercury* on March 8, 1940, observed its twenty-fifth anniversary under the management of Fay N. Seaton. A "surprise section" in the *Morning Chronicle* of the same date, prepared by the staff without Mr. Seaton's knowledge, included a review of Manhattan newspaper history from the days of the first editor, Charles De Vivaldi, a history of the *Morning Chronicle*, and other articles reminiscent of the early days of the *Chronicle* and *Mercury*.

On March 14, 1940, the *Rooks County Record*, of Stockton, published the largest edition ever to come from its press. It was an "Old Home Edition," filled with reminiscences of early residents in the county and containing many photographs. Historical articles were contributed by W. F. Hughes, W. R. Fairbanks, C. E. Merwin, George H. Culler, F. M. Peek, A. C. Bradley, and Nick L. Penny. Many former residents now living in other parts of the country wrote of their experiences in Stockton. Reviews of the history of the Stockton churches and schools, including the old Stockton Academy, were also included.

A review of the history of dentistry in Kansas, written by Dr. Edward Bumgardner of Lawrence, appeared in the Lawrence *Daily Journal-World* on March 15, 1940. This year marks the centennial "of the opening of the first dental college, the publication of the first dental journal and the organization of the first dental society." Ninety years ago the first dentist to practice in Kansas, Dr. James A. Price, was treating army officers at Fort Leavenworth. Lawrence has an unusual distinction, according to Doctor Bumgardner, in being the home of the first woman dentist, Lucy Hobbs, who was also the first woman to receive a diploma from a dental college.

When Zach Taylor, of Ottawa, came to Franklin county in 1856 with his parents, the city of Ottawa was not in existence. "It wasn't even a wide place in the road," explained the *Ottawa Herald*, "because there wasn't any road. . . ." The family bought land near Peoria, the eastern border of the Indian reservation being the western boundary of their property. Mr. Taylor's recollections of the early days were printed in the *Herald* on March 23, 1940.

Kansas history is being taught to the youth of the Wichita elementary schools by means of "photographs, lantern slides and motion pictures." More than 800 different scenes are depicted in the series. "While large numbers are from Wichita, L. H. Caldwell, principal of Gardiner school, who did the photographic work, has traveled more than 4,000 miles to all corners of Kansas to find interesting and educational scenes." The project was financed with contributions from the schools, the city teachers association and a small grant from the board of education. A more detailed account was published in an article, "Pictures Teach Wichita Youth Kansas History," in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, March 24, 1940.

An eight-section, sixty-four page edition celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the *St. John News* was printed April 4, 1940. In accordance with the plan of the late editor and publisher, H. J. Cornwell, a "photo record" policy was employed instead of the usual biographical sketch system. However, many special articles by William Martin, Jr., Edward Weilepp, Mrs. Wilma Estes, in addition to those by the regular staff writers of the *News*, were included. Separate sections were devoted to the history of St. John and Stafford county, and to the county's oil, agriculture and livestock industries. Every local institution had its share of space.

Jonas A. Stucky, of near Haven, is the author of a historical sketch of the Mennonites who settled in the Reno county area which was published in the *Pretty Prairie Times*, April 4, 11 and 18, 1940. The article reviews the history of the group from the time of their emigration from Europe, explaining their manner of life and recalling many who were pioneers in Kansas.

Observing the tenth anniversary of Barton county's first oil well, the *Great Bend Tribune* on April 5, 1940, issued an eighteen-page edition reviewing the history of drilling and crude oil production in the county. Biographical sketches of local pioneers in the industry, reminiscences of its beginnings, and photographs and diagrams of sites and tools used in drilling were included.

Kansas Historical Notes

A business meeting of the board of managers of the Fort Hays Frontier Historical Park was held April 1, 1940, at Hays. The park was inspected and several suggestions made for further improvements. Plans for the future include erection of markers on the sites of the old fort buildings, placing of memorials honoring Generals Custer, Sherman, Forsyth, Lawton and other famous commandants at the fort, and marking of the old Fort Hays-Fort Dodge trail. C. E. Rarick, of Fort Hays Kansas State College, was re-elected chairman of the park board of managers.

New officers of the Kansas Commonwealth Club were elected at the 1940 annual meeting held recently in Wichita. They include: O. F. Sullivan, president; Grover C. Dotzour, first vice-president; S. M. Swope, second vice-president; Mrs. D. W. Basham, third vice-president; Mrs. W. E. Haines, fourth vice-president; Amy Burton, recording secretary; R. M. Cauthorn, executive secretary, and Dr. H. C. Holmes, treasurer.

Frank Cooper was elected president at the organization meeting of the Lincoln County Historical Society held at Lincoln on April 25, 1940. Other officers chosen were Glenn Sheppard, vice-president; Thelma J. McMullen, secretary, and Floyd Sowers, treasurer. A campaign for additional members was announced, and plans were made for the collection and display of historical photographs, documents and relics. Nearly 300 persons attended the society's first general meeting on June 9 at Lincoln.

The following officers were elected to head the Wichita Public Museum Association at the recent annual meeting: O. A. Boyle, president; Mrs. D. W. Basham, first vice-president; Bertha V. Gardner, second vice-president; R. M. Cauthorn, secretary, and H. D. Lester, treasurer.

At a meeting held in Clay Center on May 20, 1940, a Clay County Historical Society was organized and the following officers elected: president, Mrs. Laura Stratton; vice-presidents, B. F. Hemphill and Mrs. George Kreeck; secretary-treasurer, Mrs. E. T. Pyle. Directors are to be chosen from each township and community in the county. The executive committee consists of nine members. The object of the society is to study the history of the county and to preserve pictures, relics and documents illustrative of the early days.

On May 30, 1940, a marker was dedicated commemorating a battle between Cheyenne Indians and the Eighteenth Kansas cavalry, which occurred in August, 1867, near present Long Island in Phillips county. The ceremonies were conducted at Long Island by the Phoebe Dustin chapter of the D. A. R.

After more than two years of work the Clark County Council of Clubs on June 23, 1940, dedicated a monument on Monte Casino, near Ashland, marking the site of a Benedictine monastery erected in 1876. The project was carried out by the council as part of its program for marking historic sites, and was accomplished with the assistance of thirteen organizations representing the entire county. Several articles on the monastery have been printed in the "Clark County Historical Society Notes," in *The Clark County Clipper*, Ashland, and are mentioned elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly*.

Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, instructor in history in Saint Mary college at Leavenworth, is the author of a book, *Beacon on the Plains* (Leavenworth, 1939), which reviews the history of Osage mission, founded in 1847 by the Jesuits. The theme of the book is the significance of the religious motive in the settlement of Kansas, in contrast to the usual treatment which tends to emphasize economic and political factors at the expense of all others. The author does not assert that religion was the most important urge in westward expansion, or that settlement could not have been accomplished without it, but does believe that "de facto religion was an always present and therefore constant factor. . . ." Sister Mary's main purpose, as stated in her introduction, is "to set forth the peculiar character of a great missionary enterprise and its contribution to the making of Kansas." Materials for the study are chiefly from Catholic sources, adequately supplemented by manuscript and printed works.

An autobiography, *Days of My Life*, by Mrs. Flo V. Menninger, of Topeka, was published in 1939 by Richard R. Smith, New York. The greater part, Mrs. Menninger explains in a foreword, was written in 1899, although some material was subsequently added. It was written primarily to be read by her children, as a record of a life different from their own, and it was published at their request. The subtitle, "Memories of a Kansas Mother and Teacher," explains adequately the character of the narrative. The original manuscript has been donated to the Kansas State Historical Society.

Joseph G. McCoy's *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (1874) was edited by Dr. Ralph P. Bieber, associate professor of history in Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., and was republished in Volume VIII of his *Southwest Historical Series* (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, Cal., 1940). In the sixty-eight page introduction Doctor Bieber presented a well-documented history of the cattle trade in the Kansas region. He annotated the original McCoy work and furnished considerable biographical information on McCoy. For sixteen years Doctor Bieber has been gathering notes on the cattle trade. He was qualified to edit the 1874 edition which is now scarce and is seldom to be found for sale.

A Guide to Leavenworth, Kansas, one of the publications of the American Guide Series compiled and written by the Kansas division of the Federal Writers' Project, was issued in May, 1940, from the press of the *Leavenworth Chronicle*. It is a sixty-seven page volume, amply illustrated, describing and reviewing the history of the city and its institutions, and including two routed tours to points of interest in the county. The work was sponsored locally by the Leavenworth Chamber of Commerce, and was carried on under the editorial direction of Harold C. Evans.

Cattle Trails of the Old West by Col. Jack Potter, edited and compiled by Laura R. Krehbiel (Clayton, N. M., 1935 and 1939), is a volume of stories and reminiscences by a veteran cattleman and range-rider of the old Southwest. Of special interest to Kansas historians is the explanation and tracing of the old cattle trails, particularly the Chisholm and the Western (Dodge City) trails over which, according to Colonel Potter, some nine million cattle were driven. Several cut-off and intersecting trails are also described, and a folded map inserted in the volume shows the routes.



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The John Brown Legend in Pictures

Kissing the Negro Baby

JAMES C. MALIN

THREE pictures were published a year ago under this title and as a result attention has been called to others on the same theme, together with additional information pertinent to the series. Robert S. Fletcher has contributed an article, "Ransom's John Brown Painting," and a photograph of the picture in its present state, both of which are printed in this issue. Boyd B. Stutler of New York, who has one of the finest John Brown collections in the country, has been most generous in making available the contemporaneous newspaper articles cited below which are not accessible in Kansas libraries. He directed attention to the painting by T. S. Noble, and furnished a reproduction of the woodcut used in John Greenleaf Whittier's *National Lyrics* (1865). Members of the Kansas State Historical Society will recall his address before the annual meeting of the Society in 1932.¹

The Ransom painting was first exhibited at Utica, N. Y., in November, 1860. Mr. Stutler has found a contemporaneous notice of the event which contains the following description:

An event expected for some time past among the interested came off yesterday at the city hall. I refer to the private exhibition of Louis Ransom's picture of "John Brown Going to the Scaffold." . . .

John Brown occupies the center of the canvas, standing, as the artist informed us, 6 feet 4 inches in height, being 6 inches taller than life. With a truly masterly skill the banner of Virginia is made to wave behind him in such manner as to form a halo around his head, and by the keenest sarcasm the escutcheon is displayed with the device, an armed Liberty trampling on a slain tyrant, and the motto, "Sic Semper Tyrannis:" it is carried by a dwarfish man who has a brutal visage and who is in the act of pushing a defenseless woman from the prison steps. The Continental in the background needs no interpreter. That uniform was the Declaration wrought into garments for the battles of the Revolution, but to our thinking is a sorry pattern of the F. F. V's of 1859. The slave mother and child are representative of that down-trodden race for which the hero who sleeps at North Elba laid down his life. . . .²

The reference to the "Continental" applied to the man in the left background of the picture. Mr. Stutler identifies this figure as a

1. *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. II, p. 80.

2. *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, New York, November 24, 1860, reprinted from *The Morning Herald*, Utica, N. Y., n. d.—New York Public Library.

member of a military company, the "Winchester Continentals." The comment of the present writer a year ago was incorrect on this point, but the purpose of the painter was to make use of the Revolutionary hat with its '76 emblem and to emphasize thereby the incongruity of associating that insignia with service in the interests of slavery. The hat and the emblem are not made to appear so conspicuous in the painting as in the lithograph.

In the photograph of the Ransom painting in its present state the reader will see that the banner of Virginia as a whole shows only indistinctly, that the first part of the motto "Sic Semper" is not distinguishable at all, but that the lower portion, within the encircling word "Tyrannis," forms a halo around Brown's head. In the Currier & Ives lithograph of 1863 the treatment is quite different; the flag is visible, with its motto and device, the whole serving as a background for his head, the portion within the word "Tyrannis" less conspicuously providing the halo. The newspaper description quoted above commented upon the whole banner, but emphasized the halo effect. The *Harper's Weekly* article of 1863, quoted in Fletcher's article, remarked upon the halo. The fact that Ransom revised the painting in later life raises the question whether the flag in its present state is essentially the same as it was originally or whether it may have been more nearly like the lithograph. A similar question is presented by the heads of the mother and child. Was the mother the classic Greek of the present painting or the negroid-Greek hybrid of the lithograph. Whether using the word advisedly or not, the newspaper writer of 1860 referred to them as "representative" of the negro race. No contemporaneous comment has been found which clearly determines the point, but Fletcher offers in his article the results of his inquiries. Other differences between the painting and the lithograph are evident to the observer, but these seem the most significant.

In last year's introductory note the date of the Hovenden painting was given as 1881. This was on the authority of a personal letter cited in the footnote. The date has been challenged and on further investigation the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, amends the original statement, the date inscribed on the painting being 1884. The error in the museum's records occurred as the result of a misreading of the final figure "which was due to the manner in which the 4 is made."³

3. Mrs. Bryson Burroughs, assistant curator, to the author, July 3, 1940.

In 1865 John Greenleaf Whittier published a collection of his poems under the title *National Lyrics* (Boston, Ticknor & Fields, 1865), illustrated with woodcuts by three artists, George G. White, H. Fenn and Charles A. Barry. One of the illustrations gave a version of the negro baby story to accompany the poem "Brown of Ossawatomie." It is not known which of the three artists produced the woodcut, but it affords an interesting variation of the tradition. Unlike the others, no attempt was made to idealize Brown, and it is the only picture of the series in which the observer looks down upon the scene rather than up at Brown.

The painting by Thomas S. Noble (1835-1907), "John Brown's Blessing," is life size and is signed and dated, being completed and exhibited in 1867. A large folio lithograph of the painting was issued the same year. The painting was presented in 1939 by the children of the artist to the New York Historical Society through whose courtesy it is here reproduced. It was exhibited in Boston in December, 1867, and in New York in January, 1868.⁴

The contemporaneous newspaper notice in *The Commonwealth*, Boston, Mass., December 14, 1867, is as follows:

Monday last, the eighth anniversary of the execution of "Old John Brown," was appropriately commemorated by the presentation to the Boston public of T. S. Noble's picture of Brown's passage to the scaffold, when he stopped on his way to bless a negro child. The tradition (somewhat apochryphal) is that he *kissed* the little fellow, but as the labial process in the picture would hide his countenance the artist has kindly taken the usual license and represents him as laying his hand on the child's head. Mr. Noble is a Southerner, and served in the rebel army four years, but he regarded the execution of Brown as one of the great historic events of the century, and has lost friends and position at home by representing so unwelcome a matter to the South. The grouping of the picture is happy, the likeness of Brown very excellent, and though the continental uniform of the "Defencibles," the militia company that served at the execution, seems incongruous in the picture, giving it a character similar to what we are accustomed in scenes of execution in France, yet we are assured the accessories are literally correct. We can hardly call it a great picture; yet there is much food for reflection and observation in it, and all who revere the memory of Capt. Brown should call at DeVries, Ibarra & Co.'s, where it is on exhibition.

4. *The Commonwealth*, Boston, Mass., January 4, 1868.

In order to bring together all the pictures in one place for more convenient study and comparison the three printed last year are reprinted, the series of six being arranged in chronological order:

Louis Ransom, "John Brown on His Way to Execution." Oil painting, 1860. Oberlin College.

Currier & Ives, "John Brown." Colored lithograph, 1863. Drawn from Ransom's painting. Library of Congress Collection.

Unsigned Woodcut in J. G. Whittier's *National Lyrics*. 1865. First Edition. Boyd B. Stutler Collection.

Thomas S. Noble, "John Brown's Blessing." Oil painting, 1867. New York Historical Society, New York City. Lithograph, 1867. Two copies in Boyd B. Stutler Collection.

Currier & Ives, "John Brown—The Martyr." Colored lithograph, 1870, redrawn from that of 1863. Library of Congress Collection.

Thomas Hovenden, "Last Moments of John Brown." Oil painting, 1884. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.



"JOHN BROWN ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION"

A reproduction of Louis Ransom's painting (1860) owned by Oberlin College. It will be noted from the photograph that the original painting is badly cracked.



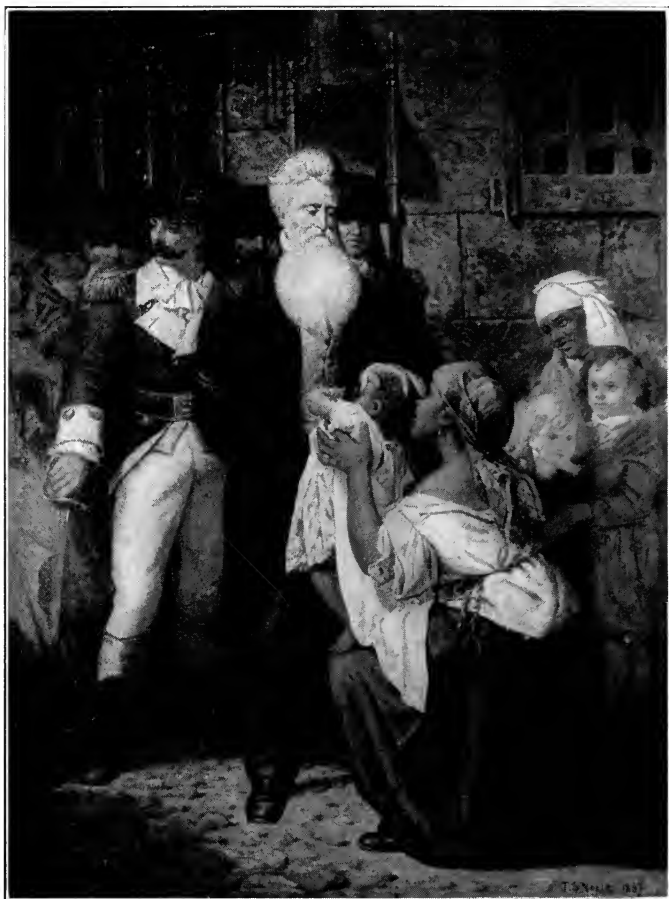
"JOHN BROWN"

A reproduction of a Currier & Ives lithograph (1863) from the collections of the Library of Congress.



"BROWN OF OSSAWATOMIE"

Unsigned woodcut in John Greenleaf Whittier's *National Lyrics*
(First Edition, 1865).



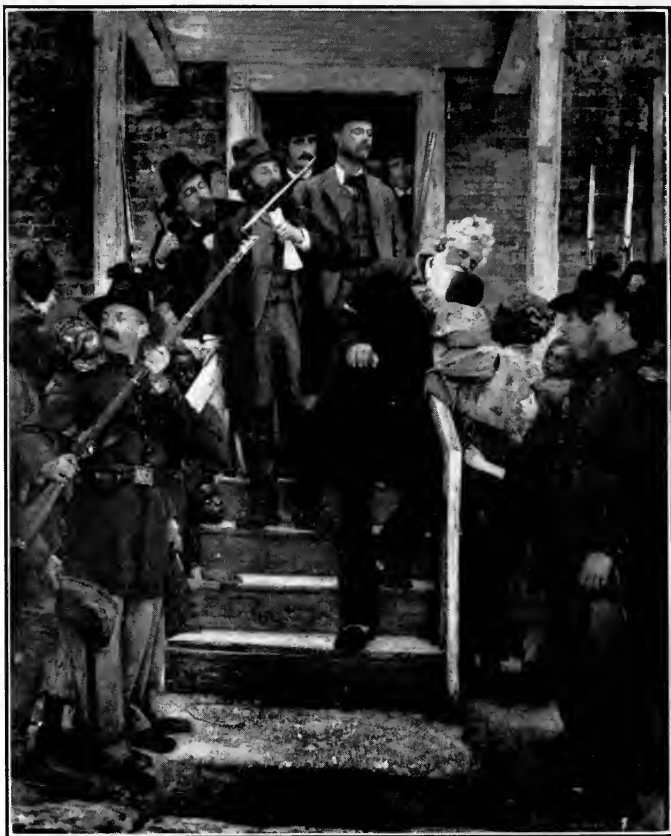
"JOHN BROWN'S BLESSING"

Thomas S. Noble's painting (1867) reproduced through the courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City.



"JOHN BROWN—THE MARTYR"

A reproduction of another Currier & Ives lithograph (1870) from the collections of the Library of Congress.



"LAST MOMENTS OF JOHN BROWN"

A reproduction of Thomas Hovenden's painting (1884) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

Ransom's John Brown Painting

ROBERT S. FLETCHER

THE original painting of "John Brown on His Way to Execution," done by Louis L. Ransom and copied by Currier & Ives, is owned by Oberlin College. It now hangs in the Paul Lawrence Dunbar (Negro) High School in Washington, D. C., having been lent to the school by the college in April, 1919.¹

Louis Liscolm Ransom, the painter, was born at Salisbury Corners, N. Y., January 23, 1831, the son of Merriman Munson Ransom and Olive Ann (Spencer) Ransom.² He early showed artistic aptitudes and in about his twentieth year friends contributed money to send him to New York to study. He was admitted to the school of the American Academy of Design where he worked for a year under the tutelage of Henry Peters Gray. Gray, the leading figure painter of his period, well-known at the time for his severally academic canvases of mythological and historical subjects, must have had a considerable influence on Ransom's style.³

Directories of Utica, N. Y., for 1857-1858, 1860-1861, and 1861-1862 indicate that Ransom had a studio in that city during those years.⁴ He "had a profound admiration, something akin to veneration for old John Brown," whom he may have seen at the latter's home at North Elba. Sometime soon after Brown's death on December 2, 1859, Ransom painted at Utica his "John Brown on His Way to Execution."⁵

In the summer of 1863 P. T. Barnum exhibited the painting in his Museum in New York City. Throughout the week of Monday, May 18, to Saturday, May 23, he advertised:

At all hours every day and evening A VERY SPLENDID PAINTING BY LOUIS RANSOM, of Lansingburgh, N. Y. representing the celebrated JOHN BROWN, leaving the Charlestown (Va.) Jail on his way to execution.

1. MS. minutes of the Prudential committee of Oberlin College, April 11, 1919, office of the secretary. This title was furnished by the painter's son, Eugene Ransom. See James C. Malin, "The John Brown Legend in Pictures," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly*, v. VIII (November, 1939), pp. 339-341.

2. Wyllys Cadwell Ransom, *Historical Outline of the Ransom Family of America* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1903), pp. 358, 359. Reference furnished by Dr. Harlow Lindley, secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

3. William Howe Downes, "Henry Peters Gray," *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. VII, pp. 517, 518.

4. Information from directories furnished by Laure Claire Foucher, librarian of the Utica Public Library.

5. This and much other information was furnished by Eugene Ransom, 841 School Avenue, Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, son of the painter, in a letter to the author dated July 8, 1940, and indirectly from the same source in a letter from Charlotte Gowing Cooper, Columbus, Ohio, dated July 9, 1940.

Wendell Phillips pronounces it A VERY HAPPY LIKENESS OF THAT GREAT MAN; a satisfactory indorsement to his numerous friends and admirers. Also, THE LIVING SEA-LION, LIVING LEARNED SEAL, LIVING HAPPY FAMILY, GRAND AQUARIA, with its multitudes of beautiful Living Fish, LIVING MONSTER SNAKES, BEAR SAMSON &c., &c. Admission, 25 cents. Children under ten, 15 cents.⁶

George William Curtis saw it in the Museum and commented on it in his column, "The Lounger," in *Harper's Weekly*. He wrote in part:

It is one of the incidents that history will always fondly record and art delineate. The fierce and bitter judgment of the moment upon the old man is already tempered. Despised and forsaken in his own day, the heart of another generation may treat him as he treated the little outcast child. In the picture his head is conspicuous against the yellow ground of a flag which surrounds it like a halo. The eager officer by his side pushes the mother away, and the bedizened soldier in the fore-ground scowls at her. The fussy parade which the authorities made at his execution is admirably suggested by these figures, and however sharply the work might be criticized by the connoisseur, there is a solemnity and pathos in it which is wanting in many a finer painting.⁷

Barnum was forced by the draft rioters of July 13-16 to withdraw the painting from exhibition in order to save the Museum from destruction at their hands.⁸

Apparently the canvas was never sold. Being of large proportions (7 x 10 feet) it required a considerable wall space for proper hanging. Ransom moved with his family to Akron, Ohio, in 1884 and soon after decided that it would be appropriate to give it to Oberlin College because of that institution's well-known antislavery history. The deed of transfer to the college, dated July 8, 1886, is in the files of the Oberlin College treasurer. "In consideration of the sum of one dollar," it reads, "I [Louis Ransom] hereby sell and transfer to the Trustees of Oberlin College my picture which represents John Brown meeting the slave mother and her child on his way to Execution."⁹

The most important document relating to this painting is a small broadside (5 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 inches) entitled *A Rare Picture*.¹⁰ It is anonymous and undated but must have been issued by Oberlin College in

6. New York (N. Y.) *Times*, May 18-23, 1863. This advertisement gave way the next week to one of Gen. Tom Thumb.

7. *Harper's Weekly*, New York, June 13, 1863, v. VII, p. 371. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), p. 471, makes it clear that Curtis personally wrote this column at the time.

8. Statement by Eugene Ransom, supported by the broadside quoted in the text below.

9. Ransom executed many portraits of New Yorkers and Ohioans. A portrait of John R. Buchtel, founder of Buchtel College, was destroyed in a college fire. Several of his other paintings are believed to have been destroyed by the burning of his second wife's home in California, but some of them may be in a storage house in Los Angeles. His paintings may be identified by the initials "LR" superimposed to form a monogram. He died at the home of his son in Cuyahoga Falls, September, 1926. He is buried at Salisbury, N. Y. His son, Eugene Ransom, possesses four family portraits done by him in his later years.

10. There are two copies in the library of Oberlin College.

1886. What makes this broadside most significant is the strong probability that Mr. Ransom, himself, collaborated in its preparation. It is here quoted in full:

An historical painting of heroic size and striking merits, by Mr. Louis Ransom, of Akron, formerly of Utica, N. Y., has just been presented to Oberlin College.

The picture represents "John Brown of Ossawatimie" emerging from the prison on his way to execution. There are seven other figures. In the foreground, descending the steps, is a slaveholder,—type of the slave power,—of commanding proportions, and face not devoid of culture, but strongly marked by passion and a domineering spirit. He is dressed for the occasion in the uniform of one of the Virginia "crack companies" of militia, which happens to be that worn by the minions of European despotism, and whose gorgeous trappings fitly symbolize the "pride which cometh before destruction."

Seated on the stone balustrade is the slave-mother and her child, already immortalized in the verse of Whittier. The artist does not spare slavery here. He answers the oft repeated sneer at the abolitionists, "Would you wish your daughter to marry a nigger?" by the mute appeal of this half white slave woman, with a child lighter than herself. The little fellow, born to life-long servitude, frightened by the soldier, turns up to her a bright Anglo-Saxon face.

Further back is a contemptible little "overseer" or hired slave-driver, parading in militia uniform, who forgets his assumed soldierly bearing, and reverts to his true character, in his unseemly rush to push the "nigger woman" out of the way. In this rapid movement he causes a yellow silk ensign which he carries to swell out so that the sunlight falling upon a portion of it forms a background and a halo for the head of John Brown.

Brown's is, of course, the central figure. Standing on the upper step he overtops all others, calm and dignified, with the bearing of one altogether assured of the final triumph of his cause. His eyes are upon the little child.

Above his head, upon the silken banner, are the arms of Virginia, a conqueror trampling upon his prostrate foe, and the motto "*Sic Semper Tyrannis*." The terrible irony of that motto, on that occasion, drives home to every beholder the question, "Who is the tyrant, who the conqueror?"

The jailor, in civilian's clothes, stands beside Brown in the doorway, and a friend also accompanies him.

In the background a member of some other militia company wears in the service of oppression the uniform of the old "Continental."

In one corner of the picture, among neglected rubbish, is seen a mutilated and discarded statue of Justice.

The technical execution of the picture is worthy of the bold composition. It was painted at the time, and narrowly escaped the violence of a mob when first exhibited in New York City. Mr. Ransom, the artist, is now at the meridian of his powers, and has revised the painting so that it embodies both the enthusiasm of his earlier and the maturer judgment of his later years.

Historical painting has been too little cultivated in America, and the rarity of such works renders this picture a special credit to its author, and a special acquisition to the College, and to the country.

The John Brown painting was first placed in the lobby of Oberlin's then-new main recitation building, Peters hall, where it hung for many years. Later it was removed to an upper floor of the same building, where it was relegated to an obscure position in the physics laboratory.¹¹ The Prudential committee consented to lend it to the Dunbar High School in 1919 on the grounds that it was so large that no suitable place was available at Oberlin for hanging it.¹² It was stretched but never framed, at least not since 1886. In 1919 it was removed from the stretcher and rolled for shipment to Washington and was never stretched again. It is, of course, badly cracked, as the photograph shows, and the canvas is somewhat rotten.¹³

Comparison shows certain differences between the painting and the 1863 lithograph. The more effective treatment of Brown's face in the painting probably represents the inadequate craftsmanship of the lithographer rather than the painter's "revision" mentioned in the broadside. The nearly Greek features of Ransom's slave mother represent a subtler conception than the wholly African head substituted, apparently intentionally, in the lithograph. Such refinements perhaps would not have appealed to the wide public Currier & Ives usually reached. According to the recollection of the painter's son the "mother was always a light quadroon and the baby a shade lighter" and the only repainting was of the highlights in the mother's dress. Some retouching was done because of a tear in the canvas but this did not affect the general appearance of the picture.¹⁴

11. Information from Prof. Raymond H. Stetson, Oberlin College.

12. Minutes of Prudential committee, April 11, 1919.

13. The author first wrote on the painting in an article entitled "John Brown and Oberlin" in the *Oberlin Alumni Magazine*, February, 1932.

14. Letter from Eugene Ransom to the author, August 9, 1940.

The Eldridge House

MARTHA B. CALDWELL

AN imperative need in settling a new country is a place where prospective settlers may stay while selecting a homesite, and where they may lodge their families while getting a home in readiness. Officers of the New England Emigrant Aid Company took this into account in their attempt to settle Kansas in 1854. Their plan of operations provided for the construction of boarding houses at various places, each large enough to accommodate three hundred persons,¹ and at their meeting on August 26, 1854, the trustees instructed S. C. Pomeroy, the Kansas agent, to purchase mills and erect "Receiving Houses."²

After the arrival of the second Emigrant Aid party in Lawrence on September 15, 1854, a temporary building called a "hay tent" was erected and named the Pioneer Boarding House. It was a mere makeshift. As described by the Rev. Richard Cordley, pioneer minister who came to Kansas in 1857, it was built by setting up two rows of poles a distance apart and bringing them together at the top, then thatching the sides with prairie hay. The gable ends were built up with sod and contained the doors and windows. The floor was the hard sod. In this building, fifty by twenty feet, settlers obtained room and board and held religious services and other public functions. It was here that Plymouth church was organized October 15, 1854. When this "hotel" burned in the autumn, another, the St. Nicholas, was built in the same way but with some improvements. The sides were banked with sod to the height of four or five feet and the inside was lined with cotton cloth.³

The "hay tent" was to serve only until a permanent hotel could be erected, and the company's agents in Kansas, Charles Robinson and S. C. Pomeroy, were requested to "have completed as early as practicable the projected . . . Hotel at Lawrence City."⁴ The work began possibly in October, for on November 2, 1854, Robinson informed the executive committee that the cellar was dug.⁵

1. "Emigrant Aid Papers," "Misc.," MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

2. "Trustees' Records," v. 1, p. 14, "EAP."

3. Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas*. . . . (E. F. Caldwell, Lawrence Journal Press, Lawrence, 1895), p. 13.

4. "Trustees' Records," v. 1, p. 47, November 22, 1854.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The building of this hotel stretched over a period of nineteen months, and, in fact, it was never formally opened. Many circumstances intervened to retard the construction. Lack of funds was perhaps the greatest drawback, for the Emigrant Aid Company was nearly always on the verge of bankruptcy. As early as November 29, Robinson advised the committee of the suspension of operations "partly" for want of money.⁶ Inability to get building materials was also a handicap. To have lumber shipped from St. Louis was slow and expensive, and the sawmill set up by the company was unable even to supply the demands of private individuals. The border troubles of 1855 and 1856 retarded the work to a great extent. It is also probable that the agents were not as attentive to the company's interests as they might have been, especially as they were allowed to engage in business for themselves, and to take advantage of the great financial possibilities in land speculation. In 1856 the company refused one of them, Charles Branscomb, the privilege of making private investments and revoked the permission previously granted to Pomeroy.⁷

Late in December workmen started to lay the cellar wall, and early the next month they began digging a well adjoining the hotel foundation. The plan was to dig fifty or sixty feet so as to have water in abundance.⁸

The company had hoped to have the building finished for the early spring emigration, but were forced to abandon the idea. A letter to emigrants in the *Herald of Freedom* advised them not to look for hotel accommodations as it would be impossible to finish a first-class hotel for several months. "But," it added, "our accommodations are good enough for *strong-hearted pioneers*, who expect to make their own comforts."⁹ However, the agents set about to look for a proprietor. They advertised in a Lawrence paper under the title "Hotel to Let" for an experienced tenant who had capital to furnish the house in good style. Such a person was advised to see S. C. Pomeroy.¹⁰ The result of this advertisement is not known but the building was subsequently leased to Shalor W. Eldridge, who with his mother was operating the company's hotel, the American House, in Kansas City.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

7. Thomas Webb to Pomeroy, October 7, 1856; Webb to Branscomb, October 13, 1856, in "Letter Press Book," pp. 378, 398, "EAP."

8. *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, January 6, 1855.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1855

Little progress was made during the spring months. By April 28 the basement wall was finished ready for the timbers. The work was delayed in part by inability to get lumber. This scarcity of material finally forced the company to revise its plan and construct a stone and concrete instead of a frame building. The flooring, ready-grooved and matched, would be procured from St. Louis.¹¹ The contract was given to Benjamin Johnson, and on May 14, work was resumed.¹²

The dilly-dallying apparently exhausted the patience of the editor of the *Kansas Free State*. He burst forth in an article of July 9, denouncing the Emigrant Aid Company, declaring that the company's mill was a "perfect nuisance" and that the hotel had been building ever since the "Company had an existence," and still lingered. He considered that the delay had been more injury to the town than all other things combined; that hundreds of persons had left the place for the want of a "comfortable hotel to stop at"; and that the company would neither do anything nor give up the work to individuals who would put it up immediately. He demanded that it be ready for the immense emigration that would "pour in here in the fall."¹³ Other grumblings came to the ears of the trustees. One Edward Jones, for example, complained that the agents had refused to fulfill a contract with him for the construction of the building.¹⁴

Work continued intermittently. On July 24, Robinson wrote to Webb that the building was nearly ready for the finishing lumber which Pomeroy was to get in St. Louis. Robinson was seemingly beginning to realize the necessity of a hotel and reported that it "should not be delayed a moment," as it was much needed. ". . . Besides," he added, "the character of the Co. will suffer if allowed to stand unfinished & unoccupied while the fall emigration is coming in."¹⁵ Early the next month Pomeroy informed the committee that he had bought the doors and flooring,¹⁶ and on August 20, Webb wrote from Lawrence, "The little Boat Lizzie having on board our Hotel flooring, doors, &c. arrived here safely last night, and the workmen it is hoped will recommence operations on the building to day."¹⁷

By October 6, 1855, the hotel was enclosed, the roof on and the

11. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1855.

12. *Kansas Free State*, Lawrence, May 21; *Herald of Freedom*, June 16, 1855.

13. *Kansas Free State*, July 9, 1855.

14. "Trustees' Records," v. 1, p. 165, July 21, 1855.

15. Robinson to Webb, July 24, 1855, "EAP" correspondence.

16. Pomeroy to —, St. Louis, August 6, 1855, in *ibid.*

17. Webb to Charles Branscomb, August 20, 1855, "EAP."

first and second floors finished. The partitions were being put up and the windows in. It was given the name, Free State Hotel.¹⁸ The building was considered the best in the territory and was said to have presented "a formidable appearance in contrast with the humble tenements in its immediate vicinity."¹⁹

In its unfinished condition the hotel served the community for social gatherings and other purposes. The first social event of importance was a "Military festival" given by Kansas Rifles No. 1²⁰ on November 15, 1855. Elaborate invitations were issued and much preparation made to insure success. A hunting contest engaged in by the Rifles the day before supplied an abundance of wild game for the tables. The evening was cold and rainy, with mud shoe-top deep; nevertheless about five hundred people of "all ages, sexes, and conditions, and every shade of political opinion" filled the rooms.²¹ According to a guest's account, the parlor and dining room were thrown into one with the Rifles' large U. S. flag draped over the arch of the folding doors. Two rows of tables extending the length of the hall were loaded with squirrel, rabbit, prairie chicken, wild turkey, and one roast pig, together with cakes and pastries.²² It was a new experience to a settler to step into a room large enough for six or eight sets to be dancing the cotillion, while hundreds of spectators looked on. Mr. Lyman, the most successful hunter, was not present to receive his reward, a rosette, but Captain Thoms, the next successful, was presented a cake by the ladies.²³

Mrs. Robinson characterized the party as a typical New England gathering with the exception of a few who "by their dress, tinsel ornaments, or their peculiarity of speech, showed that their home was further west."²⁴ The festival was said to have been the "most gorgeous affair" which had yet "come off" in the territory.²⁵

A little over a week later the hotel served an entirely different purpose when the killing of Charles Dow by Franklin Coleman precipitated the Wakarusa War. Almost instantly the town became a military camp. Free-State companies from the neighboring towns and communities rushed to the aid of Lawrence and the hotel was

18. *Herald of Freedom*, October 6, 1855.

19. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1855.

20. This company became the famous Stubbs.

21. *Kansas Free State*, November 19, 1855.

22. Mrs. Sara T. D. Robinson, *Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life* (Boston, 1856), p. 97.

23. *Kansas Free State*, November 19, 1855.

24. Mrs. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

25. *Herald of Freedom*, November 17, 1855.

then turned into barracks for the soldiers and headquarters for the officers.²⁶

After a week's siege efforts were made to restore peace. On December 7, Governor Shannon with his suite drove into the besieged town to consult with the committee of safety. He was said to have presented a stately appearance riding over the prairie in his double-seated carriage with mounted guards riding before and after.²⁷ He entered the building with General Robinson. The party moved through the hall where on a table lay the body of Thomas Barber, murdered the night before by a Proslavery man, and up the unfinished stairway to the council chamber on the third floor. Here after an extended conference the treaty of peace was arranged and signed.

The citizens of Lawrence were overjoyed at the peaceful termination of the trouble, and to show their "willingness to accept" the settlement and to give pledges of their "good offices in the future," they gave a peace party on the evening of December 10.²⁸ The hotel was again the scene of merriment and happiness. Governor Shannon, Sheriff Jones and the invaders were invited. The governor had pressing business at his office and could not accept, but Jones and some of his followers were there. The ladies had spread long tables with appetizing food, the Lawrence band furnished the music, and Robinson, Lane and others supplied the speeches. The festivities continued far into the night. The next day the soldiers were dismissed.²⁹

The closing scene in the Wakarusa War drama was the military funeral for Thomas Barber on December 16. Settlers for many miles around gathered in the long dining room where boards were brought in to provide extra seats. The military companies were there. General Robinson delivered the funeral oration and James H. Lane and the Rev. Levin B. Dennis spoke briefly. The procession then moved slowly across the prairie over Mount Oread to the open grave in the pioneer cemetery where the body was interred with military honors.³⁰

The unfinished hotel continued to be the center of social functions. There was a Christmas party of about fifty couples,³¹ and on January 1, 1856, a New Year's ball was given. G. Douglas Brewerton,

26. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1855; Cordley, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

27. Mrs. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 155; A. T. Andreas, *History of the State of Kansas* (Chicago, 1883), p. 120.

30. Cordley, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Mrs. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-163; *Herald of Freedom*, December 22, 1855.

31. *Ibid.* (Dated on masthead December 29.)

the New York *Herald* correspondent, attended the ball and described it as follows:

Armed with these credentials, for which our Executive friend will be pleased to accept our thanks, we inquired as to the most *fashionable* hour at which we might venture to become visible—were told eight o'clock, and accordingly entered the ball-room, an unfinished dining-hall in the Free State Hotel, at the hour indicated. We were attired for the occasion, in a suit of black, which was "built" in New York, and has been considered creditable upon Broadway; but we might have spared ourself some trouble, for the first gentleman we met sported a short, drab overcoat, a very long red comforter, and corduroy pants, which were fitly finished at the bottom, by a pair of boots, long innocent of blacking, but bearing most unmistakable signs, to more senses than one, of being thoroughly greased; and this biped was a fair specimen, by the way, of the very free and easy manner in which the male portion of the assemblage were rigged out.

We felt out of place, but it was too late to "retrograde," so we summoned up our brass, pulled down our left collar, turned up our sleeves, deranged the set of our pants, stuck our hands into our breeches pockets, donned our hat, and then went into conversation—pending the arrival of the ladies, who were holding on for the music—with our next neighbor. . . .

As the room filled up, each gentleman was supplied with a diminutive paper ticket, which tickets had been previously numbered by the floor manager from one to thirty inclusive. The object of this was to give each guest his number, so that—as the room was too small to accommodate more than four sets, for quadrilles, with variations, were the only dances attempted—each man, with his partner, got a "*fair shake*" to dance in their turn, for you were not allowed to take your place on the floor until your number had been called. Well, to make a long story short, we danced with sundry of the Kansas belles, and saw neither lace-ruffles nor fancy undersleeves, hoops nor flounces, low-necked dresses nor embroidered handkerchiefs, but everything passed off smoothly, for all that. The dancing-hall, however, merits a more extended description. It was, as we have already stated, an unfinished room, with rough stone walls, destitute of plaster, and a broken window or two. At one side of the room a carpenter's bench was shoved up against the wall, to make way for the trippers upon the "light fantastic toe," while a cooking-stove graced either end of the apartment, and furnished a heater, which we regret to say, didn't warm the room. As for candlesticks, each window had a slip of board fastened across the sash, with nails driven in at uncertain intervals, so as to support the candles, which threw their flickering light upon this gay and festive scene. At midnight we had supper; that is to say, we ranged ourselves upon the long wooden benches,—which surrounded the room—to the number of some eighty souls or more, when, being "*all set*," at a given signal . . . two men entered, bearing between them a piece of plank, on which were ranged plates, containing a triangle of cold pie, some raisins, and a stick of candy each—more or less, as the lawyers say—this was followed up by a second edition of planks, and men who served everybody—*nolens volens*—with a cup of hot coffee; then came cakes, "fearfully and wonderfully" made, and then back came the plank-bearers,

KANSAS RIFLES NUMBER 1.

MILITARY FESTIVAL.

Gentlemen and Lady are respectfully solicited to attend a Military Festival at

THE
FREE STATE HOTEL,

IN
LAWRENCE

ON
Thursday Evening, at 7 o'clock, November 15th, 1855.

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS:

LIEUT. J. B. CONWAY,

C. E. LENHART,

J. MACK,

J. G. CROCKER,

J. W. COLBORN.

COMMITTEE OF INVITATION:

THEO. CLEMENS,

LIEUT. A. CUTLER,

GEO. EARL.



Herald of Freedom Press, Lawrence, Kansas T.

INVITATION TO LAWRENCE MILITARY FESTIVAL IN 1855

Facsimile of an invitation to the first social event of importance held in the unfinished Free-State (Eldridge) Hotel on November 15, 1855. The broadside bears the imprint of the *Herald of Freedom* press.

ELDRIDGE

HOUSE.

RULES AND REGULATIONS:

The Proprietors will not hold themselves responsible for Money, Jewelry, or other valuables left in the rooms.

Lock and bolt the door when you retire.

On leaving the room please lock the door, and leave the key at the Office.

All kinds of Gaming is strictly prohibited in the House.

Guests having friends to dine, are requested to give notice at the Office, and register their names.

All bills for permanent or transient Board, must be paid at the end of each and every week, or their rooms will be considered vacated.

Persons without Baggage are expected to pay in advance.

Permanent board-price, according to Rooms, etc.

No deduction for absence of boarders for less than one week.

Any inattention on the part of Servants, is requested to be made known at the Office.

Servants are not allowed to do errands out of the House without permission from the Clerk.

House closes at 11 o'clock.

S. W. & T. B. ELDRIDGE,

Proprietors.

LAWRENCE, May 10, 1856.

Herald of Freedom Print, Lawrence, Kansas

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE ELDRIDGE HOUSE IN 1856

Facsimile of a card in the "Oscar E. Learnard Collection" deposited with the Kansas State Historical Society by a son, Tracy Learnard, of San José, Cal. The card was printed by the *Herald of Freedom* press only a few days before the plant was destroyed by Proslavery raiders under Sheriff Jones.

who removed the fragments of the feast, whereupon the dancers went to work again, and we went home to bed. . . ." ³²

After the Border trouble incidents, efforts were again made to complete the hotel. Pomeroy reported on December 12, 1855, that the plastering was being done and that Eldridge was "taking up Furniture. . . ." ³³ A rumor in January, 1856, that the Free-State assembly might adjourn from Topeka to Lawrence gave a new impetus to the work. The move was being considered because Topeka had inadequate accommodations and no fortifications. ³⁴ February 15 was the time set for the completion of the building, but the deadline passed. During March between twenty and thirty men were constantly employed, ³⁵ and on April 12, the papers announced the glad news that the Free-State Hotel was finished. The following detailed description appeared in the *Herald of Freedom*:

The building is on the corner of Massachusetts and Winthrop [Seventh] streets, fronting on Massachusetts street; 50 feet front, 70 feet back; three stories above the basement; contains 50 separate apartments, besides a hall in each story. The basement is divided into three rooms, each 18 feet square—two to be used as pastry and meat kitchens, the other as storehouse or cellar. The first story is 11 feet from floor to ceiling, is divided into 9 rooms; the dining hall 18 feet wide and 47 feet long; hall 9½ feet wide, entire length of building; Gentlemen's parlor, 18 feet square; Ladies' parlor, 18 x 20; Reading Room, 18 feet square; Sitting room, 16 x 18; two bed-rooms, 9 feet square; office, 6 x 14; side hall from office, with entrance on Winthrop street; main entrance on Massachusetts street; two flights of stairs to second story.—Second story 10 feet from floor to ceiling; 18 rooms—six of them 11 x 18, balance 10 feet square; hall entire length of building. Third story 9 feet from floor to ceiling; same number of rooms, same dimensions as the second story; stairs leading to roof, which is flat, and affords a fine promenade and a splendid view of the surrounding scenery. There are thirty or forty port-holes in the walls, which rise above the roof, plugged up now with stones, which can be knocked out with a blow of the butt of a Sharps rifle. The apartments are papered and well ventilated.

The entire cost of the Hotel probably exceeds \$20,000. The out-houses are of the neatest kind. The stable, in the rear, is not yet finished, tho' the walls are up. It is calculated to accommodate fifty horses, and give shelter to vehicles.

Mr. Geo. W. Hunt, formerly of Fitchburg, Mass., had the contract of the Woodwork, and Mr. Benj. Johnson, formerly of North East, Erie county, Pa., of the Stone and Masonry work. These gentlemen have filled their contracts in the most satisfactory and praiseworthy manner. Both of them are superior practical mechanics, and their first job in Kansas will be the best recommenda-

32. G. Douglas Brewerton, *The War in Kansas* (New York, Derby and Jackson, 1856), pp. 265-267.

33. "Trustees' Records," v. 1, p. 223, December 29, 1855.

34. *Herald of Freedom*, January 9, 1856.

35. *Ibid.*, March 29, 1856.

tion they can possibly give. The Hotel and grounds occupy four lots—50 x 125 feet each—two on Massachusetts and two on Vermont streets. One of them, (on the south of the Hotel), is to be devoted entirely to shrubbery. A neat fence will enclose the whole. . . .

The building is now complete—is the handsomest and handiest House west of St. Louis—and with Col. Shaeler Eldridge, formerly of East Hampton, Mass., as Landlord, will throw open its doors for the reception of guests on or before the first of May next. Col. Eldridge is an old landlord—is now one of the proprietors of the American Hotel at Kansas City—and understands precisely what the traveling public want.³⁶

During the month of April, Eldridge was busy furnishing the new hotel. The furniture, purchased in St. Louis and Boston, was shipped by steamboat to Kansas City and from there hauled by teams to Lawrence. The cost of furnishing was said to have been something over five thousand dollars. G. Williams of the firm of Gliddon & Williams of Boston offered to furnish the ladies' parlor in a "superb style" free of charge, presumably as an advertisement.³⁷ The store rooms and cellar were well filled. But before the furniture arrived and was put in place, noted guests appeared—the congressional committee, sent to investigate fraudulent elections in Kansas. The commission consisted of William Howard, John Sherman, and Mordecai Oliver with four clerks, one reporter and three sergeants at arms. A group of Lawrence citizens instantly came to the proprietor's aid and relieved his embarrassment by helping put the rooms in order.³⁸

Hostilities reopened in the spring when Sheriff Jones, attempting to serve warrants growing out of the Wakarusa War and other difficulties, was shot. He was taken to the Free-State Hotel and afterwards to Franklin. About a week later, early in May, the grand jury meeting at Lecompton recommended to the court that the Free-State Hotel and the printing presses at Lawrence be destroyed. The finding for the hotel read thus:

Also that we are satisfied that the building known as the Free-State Hotel in Lawrence has been constructed with a view to military occupation and defense, and regularly parapetted and port-holed for the use of cannon and small arms, and could only be designed as a stronghold for resistance to law, thereby endangering the public safety and encouraging rebellion and sedition to the country; and we respectfully recommend that steps be taken whereby this nuisance may be removed.³⁹

36. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1856.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Mrs. Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 196, 197.

39. Cordley, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

When, on May 6, the grand jury summoned Andrew H. Reeder to appear before it to testify and he refused, an attachment was issued. Reeder defied Deputy Marshal Fain to arrest him. Thereupon United States Marshal Donalson called a posse to help serve warrants. Donalson with his party appeared in Lawrence, served his warrants without resistance, and after eating a good dinner at the Free-State Hotel, rode back to his headquarters and dismissed his posse. Immediately Sheriff Jones summoned the posse to his aid.

The Free-State Hotel was not yet opened, but in anticipation of this event the proprietors had a set of rules and regulations printed for the conduct of their guests. The rules bear the date of May 10, and were among the last products of the *Herald of Freedom* press before its destruction. A facsimile of these rules is printed with this article.

Under pretense that he had an order from the court, Sheriff Jones and his posse rode up to the hotel and warned the occupants to get their things out. Colonel Eldridge was said to have replied, "You may burn it, but every time you burn this hotel I will build another and add a story to it."⁴⁰ Shots fired from the cannon and other weapons had little effect upon the stone building. An attempt was then made to blow it up by setting off kegs of powder in the basement. When this failed the building was set on fire from the inside and in a short time was in ruins. The two printing offices were also destroyed and the presses broken into pieces.

Undismayed by their loss, the Emigrant Aid Company almost immediately set about to rebuild. At its meeting on June 14 the executive committee instructed Pomeroy to prepare the cellar walls at an expense not to exceed \$2,000.⁴¹ A week later the committee again considered the building problem. It decided to advise Colonel Eldridge to clear the ruins and rebuild the foundation, making it as he suggested four feet wider. Doctor Cabot was asked to have his brother, an architect, draw plans and make estimates so that they could "proceed understandingly, and make the Hotel appropriations and expenditures, judiciously and economically. . . ." To raise funds, the committee decided to send subscription books to each director, "requesting his personal exertions in obtaining additional Stock subscriptions or donations, to enable the Company to rebuild its Hotel at Lawrence." It was thought that five hundred dollars in stock or subscription from each would furnish ample means. The

40. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, "A Hotel With a History," August 22, 1925.

41. "Trustees' Records," v. 2, p. 130, June 14, 1856.

directors were to report on July 3, and the books were to be turned in August 1.⁴² The company had also instituted a claim against the government for the destruction of their hotel, and Pomeroy was ordered to remain in Washington to urge this claim.⁴³

The executive committee was determined to proceed with the building. On June 27, C. J. Higginson of the executive committee wrote to Charles Branscomb directing him to go to Lawrence and take charge of the building of the hotel.⁴⁴ On the same day Webb wrote to S. N. Simpson: "We have decided to rebuild the Hotel, and the busy hum of active preparation will soon again be heard in Lawrence."⁴⁵ And to G. W. Hunt he wrote: "The Hotel will be rebuilt, and the work commenced forthwith, so that the structure may be ready for occupancy the ensuing Fall."⁴⁶

The raising of funds did not proceed too well and the committee thought out a more convincing appeal. There was much suffering and want in Lawrence and other parts of the territory which would necessitate relief. The committee decided that the least objectionable way of giving this relief would be to furnish work, believing that many only temporarily in want would refuse to accept charity but would welcome an opportunity to earn wages. They therefore appealed to the people to subscribe for stock in the company upon the condition that the funds were to be employed for the hotel and mills. The money subscribed would be used to hire the needy in rebuilding the hotel. Those who subscribed would then have the satisfaction of knowing that while they were making a good investment they were at the same time assisting in a "meritorious charitable movement."⁴⁷

Notwithstanding the uncertainty of funds work began on July 10, when Branscomb contracted with Hugh O'Neill for the removal of the debris.⁴⁸ O'Neill was to begin work at once and have the site cleared within sixteen days.⁴⁹ In the meantime the executive committee "empowered" the conference committee "to authorize Mr. Branscomb to proceed with the work . . . as rapidly as in their judgment it may be advisable."⁵⁰ On August 6 they sent him the

42. *Ibid.*, v. 2, pp. 133, 134, June 21, 1856; Webb to Pomeroy, June 21, 1856, in "Letter Press Book."

43. "Trustees' Records," v. 2, p. 135, June 27, 1856.

44. "Letter Press Book," pp. 77-81.

45. Webb to Simpson, June 27, 1856, *ibid.*, p. 72, "EAP."

46. Webb to G. W. Hunt, June 27, 1856, *ibid.*, p. 70.

47. Webb to Geo. A. Russell, June 30, 1856; to the Rev. William C. Clark, July 29, 1856, *ibid.*, pp. 83, 166.

48. "Misc. Papers," "EAP."

49. "Accounts," "EAP."

50. "Trustees' Records," v. 2, p. 150, July 25, 1856.

plans for the basement, instructing him to begin laying the foundation at once, "conforming in all respects to the plan" and not to render himself liable for more money than he had at his command.⁵¹ Again on October 1, the committee advised Branscomb that the rebuilding of the hotel was in his hands, and if he thought affairs in the territory warranted, he was to contract for the construction of the basement wall according to the plan in his possession. He was again warned not to spend more than \$2,000 without further instructions.⁵²

But the committee was beginning to lose its enthusiasm for hotel building. In answer to a letter of Robinson who was urging the importance of continuing the work, Webb answered that the company wanted to make improvements at all of its settlements, but its means were limited, and besides the "nature and extent" of its interests seemed "imperfectly understood"; that its shares in Lawrence had been altered and realtered until nothing was definite and until these had been placed beyond all "reasonable contingency" it would be unwise to make further investments.⁵³

However Branscomb went ahead with the building, contracting with Elijah A. Deelan on October 23 for excavating the cellar at thirty-five cents per cubic yard and with T. L. Whitney and Joseph Low on November 3 for the masonry. On November 5 he made an agreement with William Perry for making twenty-four window frames and one door frame of the best quality of pine.⁵⁴

At a meeting on November 7, the executive committee discussed the feasibility of discontinuing the work until spring and voted to leave it to the judgment of Pomeroy and Branscomb. If they thought it unwise to proceed they were to draw the balance of the letter of credit and apply it on the mill freight charges.⁵⁵ But at their meeting two weeks later the committee themselves decided that the work should not continue beyond the fulfillment of the existing contracts until more funds were secured. They also decided that the building ought not to cost more than \$12,000 and certainly not to exceed \$15,000.⁵⁶ Branscomb had previously estimated the cost at \$25,000 or \$30,000.

Higginson accordingly informed Branscomb of the action of the committee. He advised him to put boards over the tops of the base-

51. Webb to Branscomb, August 6, 1856, "Letter Press Book," p. 204.

52. Higginson to Branscomb, October 1, 1856, *ibid.*, p. 356.

53. Webb to Robinson, October 7, 1856, *ibid.*, p. 375.

54. "Contracts," "EAP."

55. "Trustees' Records," v. 2, p. 188, November 7, 1856.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 196, November 21, 1856.

ment walls to protect them from injury during the winter weather. "We have not at any time," he wrote, "contemplated building more than the basement this Autumn, and the present position of affairs in the Territory induces the Com. to turn their attention and means now to establishing the Mills." He also urged Branscomb to find ways of reducing the cost, for the committee would not again spend so much money on a hotel.⁵⁷

Meanwhile the company's agents in the territory were urgently begging that the building be pushed with all haste. On December 1, Branscomb wrote to the committee that a hotel similar to what they had proposed was "absolutely demanded by the wants and necessities of the community and the Territory." "It is a matter of general complaint," he asserted, "how badly we are provided for in that respect." He was sure that the contract for the remainder of the building should be made at once. On December 5 he again advised the committee to make an estimate and determine whether \$25,000 was too much for the building. He thought that the work contracted for would be completed before January.⁵⁸

Webb answered Branscomb on December 31, explaining that every member of the committee was anxious to complete the hotel at the "earliest practicable period," but how soon that would be was questionable. He said that there was a difference of opinion as to the amount to expend on the building due to the fact that their means were limited and that there were other pressing calls. He also told him that their other settlements were in need of accommodations as well as Lawrence. Webb then gave his own personal opinion as follows:

The more I reflect upon the matter, the more convinced am I, that our proper course was to have put up at each of the Free-State Towns a plain, substantial building at a cost of some \$2,000, at which good accommodations could be furnished on reasonable terms, and at a rate within the means of the greater portion of those for whose comfort & convenience we should in the first place look out. An expensive Hotel would be a desirable ornament to a Place, and would undoubtedly attract strangers and induce them to tarry longer than they otherwise would and probably be the means of their expending and perhaps investing some of their surplus funds; but the cost of, and consequent charges at, such an establishment, would necessarily debar most new settlers from enjoying its advantages.— As a matter of pride I wish to see the Hotel arise with increased splendor and enlarged dimensions; but unless we obtain our claim against [the] government, I do not see how we can afford to indulge in such a luxury. I of course in these remarks am only expressing my individual sentiments. The Ex. Com. may perhaps yet see the

57. Higginson to Branscomb, November 22, 1856, "Letter Press Book," pp. 465-467.

58. "Trustees' Records," v. 2, pp. 203, 204, 211, 214.

way clear to go on with the work in the Spring. Your estimate of the cost will be presented at the meeting on Friday next. As already stated to you there is a strong sentiment prevailing in the Committee, that acting as they are in trust for a Company they should not make further investments or expenditures in Lawrence until the various conflicting claims are adjusted, and the Co's. rights and interests are placed beyond risk from any of the contestants. . . ." 59

The new year arrived and the prospects for the building were no brighter. The stone work of the basement was not yet finished. The executive committee thought of modifying its plan so as to have the lower story fitted up for stores. Members of the committee were even considering the possibilities of erecting a block of stores instead of a hotel as being a less expensive and more remunerative project. The latter plan they were considering the more since they understood that certain individuals were engaged in hotel building, and one of the principles of the company was not to compete with individual enterprise.⁶⁰ Nothing more was done and on January 16, Branscomb informed them that the winter was cold and nothing could be done until spring.⁶¹

It was perhaps a great relief to the committee to receive a letter from S. W. Eldridge dated February 2 in which he proposed to purchase the hotel foundation, stable and the three lots connected therewith. Eldridge, who was in Boston at the time, offered five thousand dollars for the property, five hundred dollars down payment and the rest within sixty days from the acceptance of the proposition. The committee called a special meeting for February 7, to consider the offer. After some deliberation it was voted to authorize Branscomb to convey the property to Eldridge upon the following conditions: That he should pay the five thousand dollars to the treasurer of the company on or before April 7, 1857, or forfeit the five hundred dollars. That he should build a hotel according to the plan in the possession of the company, any alterations to be approved by them. That he should assume the contract for the construction of the basement and deposit one thousand dollars as security before being given possession. That the stone and other materials on the lots which had been sold to Whitney & Low were not to be included in the sale.⁶² Eldridge later complained of the construction the committee put upon the agreement, insisting that the five thousand dollars included all the company had paid and were to pay on existing contracts.⁶³

59. Webb to Branscomb, December 31, 1856, "Letter Press Book," pp. 556-560.

60. Webb to Branscomb, January 26, 1857, *ibid.*, p. 605.

61. "Trustees' Records," v. 3, p. 29.

62. *Ibid.*, v. 3, pp. 34-37, February 7, 1857.

63. *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 126, May 15, 1857.

By February 13, Eldridge had deposited the initial payment and requested that the committee modify its stipulations so as to require him only to erect a first class hotel.⁶⁴ Branscomb was forthwith instructed to transfer the property to Eldridge when he had paid forty-five hundred dollars in cash, and to take special care that nothing be done to impair in any way the company's title until the actual payment was made. He was also authorized to cancel Mallory & Earle's lease of the hotel stable.⁶⁵

Eldridge had trouble raising the money but by June 22 he had completed the payments and had taken possession of the property.⁶⁶ In partnership with his three brothers, he immediately began work on the building. On August 6 the *Lawrence Republican* noted that the immense foundation and cross walls were finished and the brick-laying had commenced. Under the new management the building advanced rapidly. The work continued through the severe cold weather in November and early in December the walls were up and the roof was being put on. It was the intention to have the hotel completed by the opening of spring. The Eldridge brothers received much praise for continuing the work in the face of so many obstacles.⁶⁷

Like the Free-State Hotel, the building before its completion became a popular place for social gatherings. The first large event was a ball given on January 29, 1858, in compliment to the Eldridge brothers. The public was invited through the Lawrence papers under the caption:

"TRUTH CRUSHED TO EARTH SHALL RISE AGAIN."

FREE-STATE HOTEL BALL.

A committee of thirty-nine in charge of the affair included Charles Robinson, James H. Lane, C. K. Holliday, H. Miles Moore, P. B. Plumb, S. N. Wood, Martin Conway, O. E. Learnard, G. W. Deitzler and many other prominent persons. Admission tickets, with supper included, were five dollars. The proceeds were to go toward the hotel furnishings, and thereby help in some measure to retrieve Colonel Eldridge's loss in the destruction of the Free-State Hotel. Nothing was left undone to make the party the "most elegant" ever

64. *Ibid.*, v. 3, p. 48, February 13, 1857.

65. C. J. Higginson and L. B. Russell to Branscomb, February 23, 1857, "EAP" correspondence.

66. "Journal," p. 29, "EAP."

67. *Herald of Freedom*, December 12, 1857; *Lawrence Republican*, December 17.

given in Kansas. The well-known caterers, H. C. Whitley & Co., were employed in the culinary department and the Lawrence Cornet band furnished the music. "No one, probably, in Kansas," wrote the *Lawrence Republican*, "has done more for the prosperity and permanent good of the Territory, as well as the town of Lawrence than has Col. Eldridge, and we hope and expect that this will be *the* affair of the season."⁶⁸ One would be interested in knowing the result of so much preparation, how many were present, how much money was realized, etc., but the author was unable to find any account of the ball after it took place.

About three weeks later, on Friday evening, February 19, the Good Templars held a festival at the hotel. An invitation was extended to all members in the territory and to all friends of temperance. Tickets to this gathering were three dollars. The Lawrence Cornet band was again pressed into service to furnish music for the dancing. The Reverend Mr. Lovejoy and the Reverend Mr. Brant gave addresses, and at eight o'clock a supper was served.⁶⁹

Although the *Lawrence Republican* announced on May 6 that the three lower stories of the Eldridge Hotel would be completed before the 21st of the month, it was not until December 16 that the building was furnished and opened to guests. Besides being a story higher than the Free-State Hotel, the Eldridge House was longer and wider, extending a hundred feet along the east front and one hundred and seventeen feet back. The cost was estimated at \$80,000. The *Lawrence Republican* gave the following description:

It is a four story building, fronting on two streets. The first story is occupied with stores, a billiard room and a spacious apartment devoted to culinary matters. It contains one hundred rooms and can comfortably and without excessive crowding, accommodate both in the dining hall and sleeping rooms two hundred guests.—The second story is occupied with a general sitting room, register's office and ample parlors, ladies and gentlemen's, richly furnished with sofas, mirrors, elegant carpeting, &c. There are several parlors with bed-rooms attached and all elegantly furnished. Much of the carpeting is Brussels and the remainder the best quality of "threeply." Almost all the rooms are furnished with stoves.

Everything about the house is new and in the best order. The house itself is built in the most substantial manner, and neither money nor time have been spared to make it what it really is, a "*first class Hotel*."

In case of fire, from which the building is admirably guarded, there are three ways of escape from the second and third floors and two from the fourth, besides scuttle holes by which Mayor Babcock's and Stearns' buildings can be reached. . . .

68. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1858.

69. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1858; *Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, February 6.

The energy and enterprise which have carried this great undertaking to a successful issue in times of such universal scarcity and pressure, cannot be too highly commended. By such men and such means does Kansas become the most thrifty and prosperous of communities. . . .⁷⁰

The Eldridge House, with its four stories towering above the other buildings like a modern skyscraper, added much to the appearance of the town. The Lawrence people were proud of it. One visitor said that he could see it "eight or ten miles from the place." "It gave a magnificent appearance at that distance," he added, "that would please the beholder."⁷¹ Governor Medary, after making a survey of the building, wrote to his wife in Columbus, Ohio, that he could procure a better room and fixtures in Lawrence than in that city."⁷² And C. K. Holliday wrote: "The Eldridge House is fully open—and is very splendid, and elegantly furnished. It is as good a house as any in Cleveland and as large as all the Hotels in Meadville put together."⁷³ Horace Greeley, visiting Lawrence in the spring of 1859, likewise spoke of the "magnificent hotel" which he feared was "far better . . . than its patronage will justify."⁷⁴ It was considered the finest hotel west of St. Louis.

On New Year's eve the Eldridges gave a grand opening ball. It was said to have been one of the "gayest assemblies" ever held in Lawrence. One hundred couples attended, and the Lawrence Cornet band was again on hand to provide music. The tables were "gorgeously furnished" and were supplied with "all the delicacies which could be found in the most extensive saloons of the eastern cities." It was also a well dressed group. Colonel Holliday informed his wife that there was much fine dressing now and that he was obliged to buy a new frock coat and the "finest military overcoat you ever saw."⁷⁵ The editor of the *Herald of Freedom* counted forty-eight couples on the floor at one time with plenty of room for all. He thought it a "brilliant contrast" to a party given four years previously by a Mr. Litchfield at his "mud cabin boarding house," where for want of room to dance the guests spent the evening in social conversation.⁷⁶

The territorial legislature met at Lecompton in January, 1859, and adjourned to Lawrence to hold its session. Governor Medary and

70. Lawrence *Republican*, December 23, 1858.

71. *Herald of Freedom*, February 13, 1858.

72. Lawrence *Republican*, December 23, 1858.

73. Holliday to his wife, January 30, 1859, "Holliday Collection," MSS. division, Kansas State Historical Society.

74. Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey, From New York to San Francisco* . . . (New York, C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co., 1860), p. 43.

75. Holliday to his wife, January 30, in "Holliday Collection."

76. *Herald of Freedom*, January 8, 1859.

a large number of the councilmen and members of the house were guests of the Eldridge House. To honor the governor, a dinner was given Saturday evening, February 5. It was given especially to express appreciation for his "dignity, firmness, and impartiality" in discharging his official duties. A large crowd of men and women representing every shade of Kansas politics was in attendance. An excellent dinner was served and afterwards numerous toasts were given. The first toast to Governor Medary was responded to at some length. Among the ten other toasts offered was one to Kansas territory, "the Eden and Ophir of the 'far West'." Another was to the women of Kansas, "without them our Eden would be a desert, our Ophir valueless." At a late hour the program was concluded and the guests departed. One editor thought that the occasion inaugurated a new era in Kansas, an "era of union and harmony between the Executive and the people. . . ." ⁷⁷

The Eldridge House became the center of the town's social activities. Balls, banquets, weddings, political meetings and gatherings of all kinds were held there. Many noted guests were also entertained. Mention has been made of Horace Greeley's visit in May, 1859. From the steps of the Eldridge House he addressed a large gathering. On September 26, 1860, William H. Seward, the senator from New York, and his party visited Lawrence and were the hotel's guests. In the party were other distinguished persons including General Nye, Rufus King of the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and a Mr. Hays of the New York *Herald*. In the afternoon Seward spoke to a large crowd in front of the hotel. ⁷⁸

Four years after the Eldridge House was opened it too was destroyed. Quantrill and his guerrilla band entered Lawrence on August 21, 1863, reduced the town practically to ruins and murdered a great number of its citizens. The Eldridge House suffered great losses. Sixty or more guests, a number of them Eastern men who had come out to look over the country with a view to making investments, and other families boarding permanently, lost their personal belongings and household goods. On the first floor were five stores and a law office, and the damage to these alone was said to have been \$60,000. The loss to the whole building was perhaps \$150,000. But the occupants were spared their lives, a thing difficult to understand considering the treatment given other hotels. For instance, after the Johnson House, the next largest hotel, surrendered, its male occupants were taken out and shot.

77. *Ibid.*, February 12; Lawrence *Republican*, January 20, February 10, 1859.

78. *Ibid.*, September 27, 1860.

The Lawrence people, almost paralyzed by the blow, silently set about burying their dead and caring for the wounded and homeless. What to do they did not know. Some thought it futile to rebuild, that the rebels would again destroy the town. But finally courage and determination overcame their fears, and in a short time the work of rebuilding was going on everywhere.

Almost the first thought in the minds of prominent citizens after the raid was the rebuilding of the Eldridge House. Ten days after the destruction of the town the following appeal was made to S. W. Eldridge:

Ruins of Lawrence

September 1, 1863

To Col. S. W. Eldridge

The Free State Hotel is again in ruins by the hands of Proslavery fiends—We, your neighbors & friends appeal to you not to be discouraged but arouse yourself to action & rebuild the noble structure as near as possible as it was—We will aid you to the utmost of our ability & firmly believe the friends of freedom throughout the land will aid you—We respectfully urge you to visit those friends throughout the States & give them the opportunity of contributing— We know they will aid in the erection of such a monument to Freedom—

George W. Deitzler

C. Robinson

C. W. Babcock

Lyman Allen

O. Wilmarth

S. K. Huson

R. W. Ludington

Josiah Miller

Edward D. Thompson

Robert Morrow

L. Guild

Simpson Brothers

H. P. Grovenor

Wesley H. Duncan

James Blood

W. E. Sutliff & Co.

Ridenour & Baker

On the back, the petition was endorsed by the Kansas delegation in congress, J. H. Lane, S. C. Pomeroy and A. C. Wilder, by Lt. Gov. T. A. Osborn, and by several generals in the army including James G. Blunt.⁷⁹

But Colonel Eldridge had suffered such losses that he was unable to rebuild without aid. Early in May, a suggestion was made that the city give ten thousand dollars and that citizens subscribe toward the enterprise. Eldridge expressed his opinion that ten thousand dollars from the city would be sufficient. On June 8 a meeting was held on the Eldridge House site to consider plans for rebuilding. At this meeting a committee was appointed to visit the city council and ask them to call an election for submitting the question of the city's

79. MSS. division.

contributing ten thousand dollars toward the erection of a hotel "equal to the old Eldridge House."⁸⁰

To encourage the city officials a petition signed by 115 prominent citizens was presented to the council. The petition stressed the importance of erecting a first class hotel immediately, the necessity of municipal aid, and expressed confidence in the ability of S. W. Eldridge. It stated the willingness of the signers to support the city in voting ten thousand dollars in bonds to Eldridge, and pledged their votes and influence to secure such action. Among the signers were Wilson Shannon, James H. Lane, Sidney Clarke, P. D. Ride-nour, S. N. Simpson, George Deitzler, and Charles Robinson.⁸¹

Frequent articles in the newspapers kept the matter before the public. A writer to the *Kansas Tribune* proposed incorporating a joint stock company. He believed that a thousand shares at one hundred dollars each would be readily taken, and through the rent of stores in the building and the increased value of property the stock would pay good dividends.⁸² On February 25, the editor of the *Tribune* urged the city to vote bonds, arguing that the town was prospering and that a good hotel would bring emigrants and would be the first inducement to capitalists.⁸³

A bond election to vote \$15,000 was finally called for March 3. The question carried by a vote of 162 to 47. About two weeks later the mayor advertised for sealed proposals. The bids were to contain the size of the building, its location, approximate cost and the material to be used. The bids were opened on April 5, by the city council and the contract was awarded to Colonel Eldridge. The building was to be 100 by 117 feet and three stories high.⁸⁴ In addition to the fifteen thousand dollars in bonds, a number of citizens gave donations. According to the editor of the *Tribune* one individual subscribed one thousand dollars and two others five hundred dollars each.⁸⁵

Eldridge began immediately with a large force of hands to remove the ruins and clean the brick worth saving. On May 3 the *Tribune* reported that the masons would soon commence laying the walls. A little more than three weeks later, on May 27, the cornerstone was

80. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, Lawrence, June 9, 1864.

81. Original manuscript in MSS. division.

82. *Kansas Daily Tribune*, Lawrence, January 28, 1865.

83. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1865.

84. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1865.

85. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1865.

laid with appropriate ceremonies. The Reverend E. Nute, a pioneer minister, gave the address. The inscription on the stone read:

Site of Free State Hotel

Burned by Sheriff Jones

May 21, 1856

Eldridge House

Burned by Quantrill

August 21, 1863

The work continued through the summer, although delayed at times by inability to get brick and lumber. By September 20, the building was up to the third story. The editor of the *Tribune* thought that it looked too "squatty" and suggested that aid be given to help Eldridge add another story. But his appeal received no response, since three stories fulfilled the contract. In November the roof was put on and the next month the first floor was completed and ready for occupation. This floor contained five store rooms which were soon rented. The Merchant Tailoring establishment moved in in December, and early in January H. H. Ludington opened a saloon in one of the rooms. A Bazaar store occupied another room, Drake & Crew's bookstore another, and B. W. Woodward moved the prescription department of his drug store into the basement.⁸⁶

Work on the rest of the building began to lag. This delay brought forth a remonstrance from a citizen taxpayer who inquired about the prospects of the building being completed. Although the stores were finished he thought that the city could hardly afford to give a bonus of \$3,000 each for five store rooms. Nor did he think that the city could afford to give \$15,000 for the erection of a hotel to be completed when the rent from the stores furnished the money. He declared that all that had been done in the last three months could have been accomplished in three days. "We want the hotel now," he asserted, "and it is due to the city that it be completed at the earliest possible time. . . ." ⁸⁷

On May 21, 1866, Eldridge sold the hotel to George W. Deitzler. The purchase price was nearly \$50,000, and the name, Eldridge House, was retained. Deitzler began pushing the work with the utmost energy, engaging all the workmen who could be employed.⁸⁸ Early in June the firm of Johnson & Wiggins completed the plastering,⁸⁹ and in July Deitzler leased the building to E. A. Smith and

86. *Ibid.*, December 24, 1865; January 23, 28, February 10, March 20, 1866.

87. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1866.

88. *Ibid.*, May 22, 25, 1866.

89. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1866.

E. C. Stevens. Stevens was experienced in the work, having been connected with the Planter's Hotel in Leavenworth for a number of years.⁹⁰ The hotel was opened for the reception of guests on September 27, and the next evening the proprietors celebrated by giving a ball at Frazer's hall. The public was invited and many persons from Leavenworth and the surrounding towns attended. The hall was crowded and according to the *Tribune* the ball was a "grand success."⁹¹

The building was three stories high with a frontage of one hundred feet on Massachusetts street and one hundred and seventeen feet on Winthrop. The first floor was used principally for stores with the hotel office and the main entrance on Massachusetts street and the kitchen in the rear. The sixty-four rooms in the upper stories included sleeping rooms and parlors. In addition to these were linen closets and rooms for domestics. The dining room on the second floor was 32 by 70 feet.⁹² It was well arranged and contained such modern conveniences as a "Patent Carving Table" fifteen feet long which was heated the entire length with hot water. The rooms were large, airy and well lighted, with high ceilings, and furnished in the "tastiest and most comfortable style. . . ."⁹³ All the modern improvements were included in the equipment of the building. On each floor was a wide hall and connected with the ground floor was a billiard saloon 40 by 70 feet. In 1868 the billiard hall was redecorated and furnished in a style "not outdone by any similar establishment in the country."⁹⁴

In January, 1876, the Eldridge House again changed hands, being purchased by H. H. Ludington, who changed its name to the Ludington House.⁹⁵ Four years later J. R. Pershall of Junction City bought it.⁹⁶ The former name was restored, and with the exception of the four years during which it was owned by Ludington it has been known as the Eldridge House since the erection of the second building.

The Eldridge House did not always maintain its high standards. At one time at least it was in a dilapidated condition. In 1883 a writer to the *Tribune* described it as an old barn with no paint, no shutters at the windows, not a bath in the whole house, and the

90. *Ibid.*, July 13, 1866.

91. *Ibid.*, September 27, 29, 1866.

92. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1866.

93. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1866.

94. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, May 14, 1868.

95. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1876.

96. *The Western Home Journal*, Lawrence, September 9, 1880.

plastering falling off in many of the rooms. He considered it a "lamentable fact" that Lawrence could not "boast of one building in which to run a strictly first-class hotel." However, he exonerated the proprietor, J. R. Pershall, from all blame.⁹⁷ In September of that year Bernard Murry became manager. Murry had been in charge of the McClure House in Canon City, Colo., a place noted for the abundance and variety of its food and the "excellence of its cuisine." He immediately set about to repair and refurnish the building. Under his capable management the house was restored to its former prestige and Lawrence no longer had reason to be ashamed of its big hotel.⁹⁸

The property has changed hands many times since 1865. On December 5, 1865, it was deeded to the city and soon after turned over to the county for taxes. The next year it was purchased by George Deitzler from Shalor Eldridge. Other owners have been H. H. Ludington, J. R. Pershall, Mrs. A. M. Deitzler and Edward Maloy. In 1899 Maloy sold the building and contents to E. G. Conn. After passing through the hands of several members of the Conn family, it was sold to Anna L. Hutson in November, 1907. Mrs. Hutson deeded it to her two sons, George E. and William G., in 1910, and two years later William G. Hutson, the present owner, became sole possessor.⁹⁹

For fifty-nine years after its rebuilding in 1866 the Eldridge House continued to operate without major alterations. It became widely known—in one instance in not too complimentary a way. In the fall of 1914, Julian Street, an American author, stopped at Lawrence on a visit to Kansas and the West. In an article in *Collier's* he facetiously described his brief visit to the Eldridge House as follows:

. . . I retired to the Eldridge House dining room and ordered the fifty-cent luncheon. If it was the worst meal I had on my entire trip, it at least fulfilled an expectation, for I had heard that meals in Western hotels were likely to be poor. It is only just to add, however, that a number of sturdy men who were seated about the room ate more heartily and vastly than any other people I have seen, excepting German tourists on a Rhine steamer. I envy Kansans their digestions. For my own part, I was less interested in my meal than in the waitresses. . . . There is, I trust, nothing improper in making mention of the striking display of jewelry worn by the waitresses at the Eldridge House. All wore diamonds in their hair, and not one wore less than fifty thousand dollars' worth. These diamonds were set in large hairpins,

97. *Kansas Weekly Tribune*, April 20, 1883.

98. *Lawrence Daily Journal*, September 9, 1883.

99. *Lawrence Journal-World*, August 22, 1925.

and the show of gems surpassed any I have ever seen by daylight. Luncheon at the Eldridge suggests, in this respect, a first night at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, and if it is like that at luncheon what must it be at dinner? Do they wear tiaras and diamond stomachers? I regret that I am unable to say, for, immediately after luncheon, I kept an appointment, previously made, with the driver of the auto hack. . . .¹⁰⁰

According to the Kansas City *Star* Hutson was not at all indignant at Street's remarks, but was gratified at the notice his establishment had received. He accordingly presented the Eastern writer with a season meal ticket with the following message:

The Eldridge House, fortunate enough to come under your notice, has achieved national prominence as a result of your recent visit to Lawrence and the article you have written for *Collier's* about your brief stay here.

I hardly dare to think about the sum that would have to be spent to reach this result by any other means than the one you have employed without expectation or hope of reward.

Not in any way as a measure of the service you have rendered, but as an earnest of my appreciation, I beg to extend to you the privileges of the Eldridge House dining room for the season of 1915.

Trusting that you may be able to make frequent use of the enclosed pass, I remain,

Yours very truly,
W. G. Hutson.¹⁰¹

The second Eldridge House was one of the most modern of its day, but a later era of hotel building, bringing new inventions and improvements, antiquated the establishment. Not long after William G. Hutson became owner in 1912, the World War, with its attendant high prices, shattered whatever dreams or plans he may have had for a new building. The unsettled financial conditions after the war also precluded any such venture by one person. Meanwhile Lawrence was badly in need of a modern hotel. In 1925 an appeal was made to the Lawrence people to help in the enterprise, and through a popular campaign, initiated by the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce, fifty thousand dollars was raised by subscription.¹⁰²

Preliminary arrangements having been completed, work began on the new building May 18, 1925. The plan was to rebuild in sections, leaving one part standing to continue hotel accommodations. On the above date workmen began to tear down the north half.¹⁰³ Day and night shifts speeded the work in an endeavor to complete the building in time for the return of the old K. U. "Grads" for the Missouri-Kansas football game that fall.¹⁰⁴

100. "Kansas—Where All Signs Fail," in *Collier's*, October 24, 1914, p. 20.

101. Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, October 25, 1914.

102. Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, October 10, 1929.

103. *Ibid.*, August 21, 1925; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, June 28, 1925.

104. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1925.

On August 21, the sixty-second anniversary of the Quantrill raid, the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone took place. The exercises were held in front of the building with the workmen's scaffold for a platform. A crowd of people stood in Massachusetts street blocking the traffic. Many of the old settlers who had witnessed the sacking and burning of the first Eldridge House were there. The daughter of Colonel Eldridge came from California. Mrs. Anna Lane Johnson, Jim Lane's daughter, was also present. The principal address was given by W. E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. Fred Trigg of the *Kansas City Star*, Mayor Frank M. Holliday and R. C. Rankin also spoke.¹⁰⁵

The work continued, but the goal for the completion of the building was not realized. It was not until the beginning of April, 1926, that the first unit was finished. Its formal opening took place on the afternoon of April 8, when the entire hotel was thrown open to visitors. According to the editor of the *Journal-World*, the "procession of callers literally ran into the thousands and the hotel lobbies were crowded from 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon until nearly midnight.

. . . " 106

After the first unit was finished, work began on the south half. The celebration for the completion of this addition occurred January 1, 1929, with an open house. A large crowd filled the lobby, coffee shop, grill room and ball room. Music for dancing was furnished by Kansas City orchestras. In addition to the coffee shop and dining room, the new part contained about fifty guest rooms on the upper floors. The dining room was beautifully finished in ivory and gold, the coffee shop in jade and green and the grill room with tinted bricks. Pennants of the "Big Six" athletic teams decorated the inlaid panels on the tile floor.¹⁰⁷

The Eldridge House continues to carry on. Lawrence would not be Lawrence without it. It originated with the town, has grown with it, and is embedded deeply in its traditions.

105. Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, August 22, 1925; Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, August 22, 1925.

106. Lawrence *Daily Journal-World*, April 9, 1926.

107. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1929; Topeka *Daily Capital*, September 25, 1928.

Eastern Kansas in 1869-1870

PAUL H. GIDDENS

I. INTRODUCTION

LOCATED about twenty miles from the place where Col. E. L. Drake drilled the first oil well in 1859, *The Venango Spectator* at Franklin, Pa., gave its readers full and complete information about the drilling of this first oil well and the subsequent excitement along Oil creek, which ushered in the petroleum industry. Despite their sensational character these events did not monopolize the columns of the *Spectator*, for it frequently printed for its readers letters from persons who were either visiting or settling in the region beyond the Mississippi, where equally significant events were occurring. Personal letters to the editor concerning life on the Great Plains—in Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas and other places—always provided interesting reading material for those in northwestern Pennsylvania. It was the most convenient means of learning about the growth of the New West.

The following letters were copied from *The Venango Spectator*. They were written from different places in Kansas and by an unknown person, except for No. 3. Some insight into the character of eastern Kansas in 1869-1870 may be gleaned from reading them.

II. THE LETTERS

Kansas City, Mo.
September 4, 1869.

Dear *Spectator*:¹

I might indulge here in a poetical and romantic leave-taking from the "home of my childhood and the friends of my youth," and I can call to mind many quotations upon that subject which would both serve to fill up space and weary your patience; but I will not. I will let you off.

I arrived here about two weeks since, having experienced on my journey nothing beyond the usual incidents of travel. Thinking I might possibly interest you, I will give you a brief outline of my impressions of the place.

Kansas City is situated on the south bank of the Missouri river, about one mile from the mouth of the Kansas (or Kaw as they call it here). It is a city in fact, as well as in name, and in this it differs

1. *The Venango Spectator*, Franklin, Pa., September 10, 1869.

from many of the Western villages (and some in Venango county that I call to mind) which seek to add to their importance by the addition of the extra word to their names. It probably has about 30,000 inhabitants, though the natives will tell you "from 35,000 to 40,000." Indeed, there is every prospect of their boast being realized, for the population has been several times doubled in the past few years, and there are more signs of prosperity now than ever before. It is built upon a succession of high bluffs, and the cost of grading has been immense. In many places the excavations for streets and buildings are fifty feet in depth; in other places large ravines have been filled up. It is said that the grading of the city has cost as much as the buildings. Buildings are mostly of brick, and many of them faced with what is called Junction City marble, a peculiar kind of limestone, which, when first quarried, is so soft that it is sawed with a common handsaw, but by exposure becomes hard and durable.

A great rivalry exists between the cities on the Missouri river, but this place has fairly outstripped them all. The first bridge across the Missouri has been built at this point, at a cost of over \$1,000,000. Seven railroads centre here, and this is the point of shipment for nearly all of Kansas and the great southwest. There is a visible source of supply for the existence of the city, which is much more than can be said of many of the "future railroad centres of the great West." There is scarcely a town in the West but what claims that distinction, and boasts a dozen or more *intended* lines of roads; but while the claims of these places exist only in imagination or on paper, those of Kansas City are already accomplished facts. Property here is rapidly increasing in value and rents are high. I note one case of a building just completed at a cost of \$16,000, and which rents for \$10,000 per annum.

Franklin has several representatives in the population, and, I am happy to say, they are all doing well. Indeed, everybody who comes here with a definite idea of what he intends to do, and has any qualifications for the business, is sure to do well.

But the person who comes here without money and without prospects, had much better have staid at home. The West is infested with that class of people. Those who have been either too lazy or unqualified to make a living in the East come here expecting to find it easy. They are disappointed, and many of them, overcome by despair, end their existence in the Missouri river. We read of such cases every day.

I would say to all these adventurers, do not come here expecting

something to turn up; it *must be turned* up, and unless they can come with the requisites to do it, they had better stay away.

R.

Olathe, Kansas

November 13, 1869.

Dear *Spectator*:²

I have just been reading in the Eastern papers of the large falls of snow and the cold weather you have been having. As yet, the entire fall of snow at this place has not exceeded two inches, and has remained on the ground but a short time. As I write, the sun is shining bright and warm, and dust is flying in the streets.

This place is on the Missouri River, Ft. Scott & Gulf Railroad, about twenty miles south of Kansas City. It has about two thousand inhabitants, and is steadily and rapidly growing. The place was sacked by Quantrill when on the raid made memorable by the burning of Lawrence.³ The name—Olathe—is from the language of the Shawnee tribe of Indians and means beautiful. It is destined, so the natives tell me, to be a Great Railroad Centre. There is another Great Railroad Centre twenty miles to the south. It is at present known as Paola. Not far from Paola a new town has been started; it is now eight weeks old and has five hundred inhabitants; its projectors intend it for a G. R. C. There are other G. R. C's in abundance. At present they rejoice in but *one* railroad which charges seven cents per mile for passenger travel and correspondingly high for freight. Each glorifies itself with half a dozen or more *projected* roads, few of which will ever be projected beyond a position on paper.

Railroads leaving Santa Fe, N. Mex., for an objective point, are numerous. Santa Fe railroads (on paper) run through nearly every county seat in the state, but at this time not one has been commenced. To be a G. R. C. is the ambition of every Kansas town, and all their energies are bent to the attainment of this end. The papers of each place give a list, accompanied by explanatory and eulogistic remarks, of the railroads centering, or about to centre there, about once a month.

Johnson county embraces some of the best farming land in the state, and crops of all kinds are of the best quality and most abundant. Every kind of crop is said to be sure excepting wheat, which

2. *The Venango Spectator*, November 26, 1869.

3. Quantrill sacked Olathe in September, 1862. He raided Lawrence August 21, 1863.

occasionally fails by being frozen out, or by the rust. A good crop averages 20 bushels per acre. Corn, such as is seldom seen in the East, is raised here, and averages about forty bushels to the acre. The yield of other grain is great; while the yield of all root crops is really marvelous. Sweet potatoes I have seen two, three, and even four feet long. Fruit of all kinds is raised with no difficulty. The growth of the trees is very rapid, the quality of the fruit is delicious and the size and yield wonderful. Grapes do well, the climate being well adapted to the growth of almost any variety. One drawback, however, to immigration to some parts of the state, is the high rate of taxation. This is occasioned by the recklessness with which appropriations are made to different purposes, principally railroads, by the county and city officials. In Wyandotte county many farmers were compelled to sell out and remove to other places, because the taxes amounted to more than they could make on their property. In this county the taxes are high and many complaints are made, especially by the farmers, upon whom they fall most heavily.

The raising of beef cattle for the market has been and is a profitable business. Cattle are grazed upon the open prairie for from eight to ten months in the year, the only expense being to corral them at night and salt them occasionally. No part of the farm need be reserved for making hay to feed them during the balance of the time, as the unoccupied prairie will furnish any amount and of good quality. Money can be doubled in a year, if the buyer be judicious in his purchases. The people have a great horror to Texas cattle which are sent to the East in immense quantities through Kansas and Missouri. Cattle from Texas, driven through here in the warm months, bring with them some epidemical disease which destroys all the native cattle grazing near the trail. A law of the state prohibits their entrance within its limits, excepting during the winter months. Nevertheless the law is frequently disregarded. The farmers who suffer thereby become furious and often attack the herds, shoot down many of the cattle and drive the balance away so that many are never recovered. In some localities they threaten to hang any herder who drives Texas cattle within certain limits.

"Lo," the poor Indian, is plenty here, and every day many of them come to town in all the glory of painted faces and dirty breeches. He dresses much like his pale-face brother, but has a preference for fancy colors and an utter disregard for suspenders

and buttons to his nether garments. The occupation of the noble red man of the Shawnee tribe is farming, and they own some of the best land in the county. Sometimes he is "well-to-do," and occasionally even wealthy, maintaining a carriage and other adjuncts of civilized prosperity. Although they are quite prosperous here they are becoming discontented, owing to the rapidly accumulating numbers of the paleface. They are selling their lands and are removing to the Indian territory, where the government has given them a reservation. Poor Lo! he is driven from one place to another by the tide of civilization. The Indians' territory has long been kept free from the encroachments of white men, but it will be but a short time after the completion of the M. R., Ft. S., & G. R. R. until that, too, will be seized for the all-grasping white man.

The prairie grass this year was of unusual height and rankness, and since it has become dry, numerous fires have been the consequence. Almost every evening the sky may be seen lit up with one or more fires, being very destructive, burning the hay and fences of many farmers, and in some cases all the buildings. Where the precaution is taken of burning the grass for some distance around the farm while the air is still, there is no danger from it. The beauty of a prairie fire has often been described; poets have written of it; but my pen is unequal to the task, so I shall not attempt to.

R.

Humboldt, Allen Co., Kansas

January 31, 1870.

Messrs. Editors:⁴

Allow me to say a few words through your columns to my old friends in Venango county. We arrived at Lawrence, Kan., May 27, 1869, and I have spent a portion of my time since in traveling through the state, having my headquarters at Lawrence, a city of ten thousand inhabitants, noted for enterprise and intelligence.

After having traveled over the principal part of the state, I conclude that southern Kansas presents the greatest advantages to the newcomer. We located at the thriving young city of Humboldt about one month ago, of which I shall speak again.

Many of you are aware that my object in coming to Kansas was to recuperate health. We think we have made a wise choice. After several month's experience we find our health as a family decidedly benefited by the change. We are convinced that this is among the

4. *The Venango Spectator*, February 11, 1870.

best climates for invalids, and would particularly advise persons suffering with pulmonary complaints to visit this state and enjoy the dry, bracing atmosphere of its climate.

The people of Missouri told us that, what the drought might chance to spare, the grasshoppers would surely devour in Kansas. But, instead of a drought we have a superabundance of rain, and the grasshoppers failed to put in an appearance.

This state is destined to stand among the brightest stars in our federal constellation. She possesses many natural advantages in richness of soil, and mildness of climate, which cause a growth of fruit and vegetables beyond all expectation and all experience elsewhere. Stock raising is comparatively easy and exceedingly profitable. The people form excellent society in a literary point of view, having emigrated from the East, and having been the most enterprising and intelligent in the land they left. They work together in harmony in building churches, schools, and railroads, and accept the advantages of the age in the broadest and most liberal sense.

But to return to our young city: Humboldt is located on the east bank of the Neosho river, ninety miles south of Topeka, the capital of Kansas. The inhabitants number about twelve hundred and are rapidly increasing. There is an abundance of timber for all practical purposes, in the immediate vicinity of the town. Coal in large quantities and of good quality is found in the surrounding country. Rock for building purposes is found on about every quarter-section, the soil for many miles around is of a very superior quality and produced the past year an abundance of corn, wheat, oats, and all kinds of vegetables.

The Osage Orange hedge is principally used for fencing. Four years' growth from the seed produces a lawful fence. It is very durable and is ornamental.

This is the most promising town in southern Kansas owing to the fact that it is the prospective point of junction or crossing of the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and the Galveston R. R., and the Union Pacific R. R., Southern Branch. These form two of the principal roads of the state. The L. L. and the Galveston connects the Great Lakes with the Gulf of Mexico, and is completed to a point forty miles north of Humboldt. The U. P. S. B. road has its western terminus at Junction City, and will be completed to this place, a distance of 110 miles, in a few months.

The U. S. Land Office for southern Kansas is located here. The

immigration has been large in quantity and good in quality, and will doubtless be largely increased during the coming season. "Welcome!" we say. In this beautiful land there is room for all.

GEO. W. OGLESBY.

Girard, Crawford Co.

Kansas

May 2d, 1870.

Dear *Spectator*:⁵

Since I last wrote to you we have ceased to be a Railroad terminus, and are now engaged in talking about when we will be a Railroad Centre. The end of the railroad is now at Baxter Springs, which is at the State line, forty miles south of this. With the terminus of the road we have also lost the gamblers and *Nymphs du Pavé*, which latter fact does not make us feel a bit sorry, for we did for a while enjoy the unenviable reputation of being the worst town in the "Border Tier." The floating population and mushroom business houses have left us and we are able to judge of how we stand as a town. The population of our place is now about nine hundred, and there is not, that I know of, a single drone in the lot. In point of activity and enterprise our Western towns furnish examples which it would be hard to find elsewhere. A town of from five hundred to one thousand inhabitants here will do as much business as one of four to eight thousand in the East.

We have a community of industrious and intelligent people, who are actively engaged in building up the town and improving the surrounding country. Immigrants are coming into the country in great numbers. Long strings of canvas-covered wagons are continually streaming in upon us, and I some times wonder whether the East will not be entirely depopulated. Vast sections of country are being filled up as if by magic. Towns are being raised upon the prairie almost with the rapidity mentioned in the reliable history of Aladdin's lamp.

The price of land is continually rising and I feel sure will be from fifty to one hundred percent higher in a year than now. The portion of the Neutral Lands which has heretofore been kept out of the market, it is said, will be opened for sale with[in] two weeks. We hear that the price will range from \$5 to \$11 per acre, according to the distance from the railroad and the quality of the land. Over

5. *The Venango Spectator*, May 13, 1870.

one half of the land is now claimed, and the cost of these claims will make the price of the land range from \$10 to \$25 per acre, according to the improvements.

In the building up of a new country there is quite a speculation in the building of county towns. The county seat is fixed by the vote of the citizens of the county, and, as the interest of each town is all for itself, there is no limit to the stretching of the returns. In one instance where the contest was between Baxter Springs and Columbus, the Baxter chaps explained their defeat by charging the Columbus folks with keeping the polls open until after hearing the returns from Baxter. In the county west of this there was a lively contest between Erie and Osage Mission. The Mission folks sent a commission to Erie to watch the polls for the purpose of preventing fraud. The Erie people saw the mission of the Mission committee and *went them one better*, as they state it here. A sham voting place was opened, and the Mission detectives watched it nearly a whole day before discovering that they were sitting on the wrong nest. Did these swindled Mission people cuss? A judge of Western human nature may bet his pile they did. These gentlemen had no farther interest in that election. They didn't even wait to get the returns, but left Erie in disgust. During all this time the strategic voters of Erie were engaged in rolling up a majority somewhat larger than the population of the whole district. Election returns here are not a safe criterion upon which to judge population.

I have been asked what are the principal advantages of this country, and in reply I can scarcely think of any which it does not possess. The climate is magnificent. During the past winter the mercury fell below zero but once and then only three degrees; and I have been told by those who have lived here for three years (the "oldest inhabitants") that it seldom rises above one hundred during the summer, and the heat is always tempered by constant breezes from the south or south-west.

The soil is very productive, being considered the best in Kansas, and anybody who will take the trouble to look for it in the statistics sent from the Patent Office, may see that Kansas ranks the first state in the union. Then, too, the farmers here have the two advantages of large yields and good prices. I know that it is common in the East to say, "If they do raise large crops in the West, they cannot sell them for half what we get for ours." Such remarks do not hold good with reference to this section of the country. I have watched the market reports printed in the *Spectator* and have noticed that the

prices of all the products of the farm are higher here than in Franklin.

For fruit raising and grape culture the climate and soil are both especially adapted. Severe frosts do not come at just exactly the right time to destroy the peaches and kill the vines.

Stock-raising, however, seems to be the most profitable business. The short, mild winters render but little feeding necessary. Judicious investments in stock will yield from one to two hundred per cent advance in one year's time. Many men who come to southern Kansas with a small capital are getting wealthy in that business; and some few who come with ample means are amassing fortunes.

Now comes what are usually denominated our disadvantages. Of timber we have but little, and lumber is consequently higher here than in the East. Yet it costs not nearly so much to fence a farm here as it does to clear in a timbered country. As a fuel we do not miss it, for we have an abundance of coal, of good quality, all over the Neutral Lands. Water is not so plenty, nor as good as in the temperate, cold water region of Pennsylvania. This is a disadvantage which there is no denying, and it is one which the newcomer from better watered regions thinks he cannot endure, yet it is not nearly so bad as is generally believed, or as the stranger at first supposes. There is a sufficiency of lasting water in the streams for stock, and good drinking water can be found most anywhere by digging from five to twenty feet.

Though our natural advantages are great, yet it is not to these alone that the unparalleled advancement of this section is due. The railroads which are stretching like net-work all over the country are the cause. There was a time when railroads were caused by and followed wealth and civilization. At this time and in this country the order is reversed. Railroads are pushed out into the unoccupied prairie and wealth and civilization follow as if by magic.

The Baxter Springs celebration over the completion of the railroad to that place will come off the 12th of this month and I shall endeavor to be there. I like to go to Baxter. There is much about the place which reminds me of dear old Franklin. They have hills and forest and rocks at Baxter, and a river almost as pretty as the Allegheny. Among the features of the celebration is to be an Indian canoe race and a war dance, by the Paolas [Peorias?], Senecas, Quapaws, Delawares, and other tribes. This intelligence, however, can scarcely be of interest to you who have so often seen the "Noble Red" in his different gyrations of War, Green corn, Peace and Scalp

dance, both single, double and high-pressure shuffles, in canvas pavilions on the public square.

Although there can scarcely be anything new in this dance to one who from his youth up has been a faithful attendant upon the "moral and instructive entertainments" hinted at above, yet [I] am going to see what is to be seen, and if "our" condition after the festivities will permit you shall again hear from

R.

Girard, Crawford Co.

Kansas.

May 14th, 1870.

Dear *Spectator*:⁶

Last Wednesday found me, with a railroad pass in my clothes, upon the train bound for Baxter Springs, to assist the Baxter people in celebrating the completion of the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad to that place.⁷

The train was made up of eleven cars and a gaily trimmed locomotive. Some of the distinguished excursionists (besides myself) were the Governor of the State, the mayors of Kansas City, Fort Scott and Paola, and the editors and reporters of all the principal newspapers in the State. Everybody seemed inclined to enjoy themselves. Songs and speeches were made, a generous chap with a keg of whiskey swung on his shoulder freely gave the exhilarating liquid to all who would, and freely received their inquiries for more.

Time passed merry as a dinner bell (is that what they usually say?) till our arrival in Baxter at about half past eight o'clock. Those of us who bore little pieces of ribbon with the inscription "Invited Guest" were marshaled to a large tent where supper was provided for us, large in quantity and elegant in quality. In fact the table groaned beneath the delicacies (if I knew the author of this last sentence, I'd give him credit, for I don't wish to plagiarize). After supper I attended the Indian War Dance upon the public square. The dance was not one of the noble red man's noblest efforts, yet it was a sort of sample of his style. I'm not an experienced Jenkins, having never "reported" a stylish assembly, or I should attempt, for the benefit of your lady readers, a description of dresses worn by the principal ladies on that occasion. The gay and festive dancers

6. *The Venango Spectator*, May 27, 1870.

7. For another account of the Baxter Springs railroad celebration of May 12, 1870, see pp. 401-405 of this *Quarterly*.

were from the Quapaw, Shawnee, Paolas, Seneca and Delaware tribes. In the centre of a large circle a bonfire was built, and around this ye gentle savage and the dusky maidens of the plain did congregate. About twenty were squatted upon the ground and sang a monotonous continuation of howls, led by a band consisting of one small drum. To this music the others, to the number of about fifty, danced. The men and the boys were dressed principally in a narrow strip of cloth or ornamented buckskin, which hung from their waists to within six or eight inches of their knees. Some carried gay colored blankets, others had spears, swords, old guns, etc., and were all painted with vermillion, black, yellow and red paint, and had their waterfalls decorated with feathers and ribbons. At a certain point in the dance the women joined in and "balanced all" with considerable vigor. The women were dressed after the manner of her pale-face sister, though the colors were gaudy and incongruously arranged, orange predominating. The step is monotonous and beyond description, consisting of various contortions, whirling, and energetic patting with the feet, the effect being occasionally made more striking by the peculiar Indian yell, made by hallooing sharply while patting the mouth with the hand. The yell has been extensively adopted by Eastern audiences as a method of expressing applause, perhaps on account of its elegance.

Lo, the poor Indian, whose untutored mind, etc., of this section of the country is something of a nondescript. He is neither red, white, yellow, black, blue or green, but a mixture of all, most likely, though his color is somewhat uncertain. He's a dressy chap, is Lo. The fashion-plates are nowhere in comparison with him. When he's fixed up for company his classic features are likely to represent the different hues of the rainbow. He may wear a "stovepipe," or it may only be a "slouch," but there is surely a feather in it and perhaps several of them. He may have a nice black dresscoat, or perhaps only a bright colored "Garibaldi." If he's stylish he possibly has a white shirt, but if he has, the tail thereof is nicely spread out over his breeches. Some of his clothes are ornamented with beads, and he may have boots, nicely blacked up to the top, with tassels on them, if he has the wherewithal to buy them. When Lo comes in to celebrate, and brings his family, the dusky maiden of this lodge rides astride of her pony, and rides well, too. I was soon tired of the war dance and adjourned to the halls where our Caucasian fellow men were tripping the light fantastic toe. The ball was a large and elegant assembly of the *elite* of Baxter and indeed the whole state.

The ball was kept up during the whole of the night, but the "God of day, advancing from the East," looked in upon a step rather more fantastic than light.

Among those present at the festivities were Dr. W. C. Evans and Will J. Connely from Kansas City, and Major Kennedy and wife from Franklin, Kan.

At one time during the night I fancied that a small portion of Nature's sweet restorer wouldn't go bad. Accordingly we repaired to the Brewster House, (dubbed by Connely, the Rooster House, saying we would roost there for the night) and were soon corralled in a nice bed. We had lain but a short time when other parties—ladies—claimed the room, and we had occasion to remember the hotel as the Booster House, for we all were "Boosted" out. We passed the rest of the night in various ways—quite various, in fact. Since we came to think of it, concluded not to go to bed—would rather set up than not. We didn't care a cent about sleeping anyhow, and besides that, the bed was too hard.

The festivities next day opened up with the procession to Van Epp's grove (the scene of the Quantrelle [Quantrill] massacre, of which I told you in a former letter) where we listened to a number of speeches from some of the best orators of the state.

Very nicely sandwiched in with the speaking was a grand barbecue. Among the delicacies were a roast ox, several sheep, and other smaller fowl. The quantity of eatables, both substantial and ornamental, was quite large, but could no more satisfy the hunger of the immense crowd than could the ducats in my pocket pay off the national debt.

We had more Indian dances, riding, and other exercises. The day was warm and the exercise was quite severe. One patriarch, with the expression, "Ugh! too much pantaloony," was about to divest himself of his nether garment, which made quite a consternation among the ladies. The old cove was persuaded to change his mind.

In the afternoon there was a canoe race upon Spring river, though it offered but a few attractions.

Some few of us undertook to bathe in the river, but were kept in the water and painful suspense for a long time by a party of ladies who came down for a look at the scenery.

Present at the celebration were a large number of "Leaguers," with the rumored intention of disturbing or breaking it up. Leaguers, as I have told you, are a body of men organized to resist the title of the railroad company to the lands, and have even gone so

far as to resist the construction of the road. They were told by one of the speakers that "the building of the railroad had no more to do with the Neutral Land question than had a New Zealand mayor with the New Jerusalem."

Baxter Springs is growing rapidly and undoubtedly has a very fair future. In their haste the people have forgotten to build churches but they have a nice brewery and something over fifty saloons. I was in one of these where I counted twenty tables, all occupied by men playing cards for the drinks, which were brought to them by "polite lady waiters." In one corner was a raised platform occupied by a piano and several musicians who kept up a continual din. In another was a healthy looking chap, with a plug hat and diamond studs, dealing faro to as many gamblers as could crowd around the table.

Take it all in all, Baxter is a real border town, something on the Cheyenne pattern, and not at all the Saints' Rest which would please Richard Baxter who long ago wrote,

"I preached as though I'd never preach again,
And as a dying man to dying men."

The trade of Baxter is already large and is rapidly increasing. Considerable government freighting is done from this point and before long the Texas cattle trade, already large, will be immense. Valuable lead mines have been discovered near the place, which offers weighty reasons for its prosperity, and the time is not far distant when the magnificent water power of the Spring river will turn many a shaft and spindle. I think I do not exaggerate when I say that in two years Baxter Springs will be the metropolis of southern Kansas.

R.

The First Kansas Workmen's Compensation Law

DOMENICO GAGLIARDO

IS it safe to work? Statistics show that each year thousands of workers are killed and hundreds of thousands are maimed. The cost to society of these accidents is great and the burden on the dependents of the unfortunate victims is heavy. Two systems for distributing that burden have been devised. The common law, the older of the two and happily now largely superseded, provided that injured workers, and dependents of those killed, might recover damages if they could prove that their employers had been guilty of negligence, that they themselves had not assumed the risk and had not been guilty of contributory negligence, and that the injury was not caused by a fellow servant. Modern industrial technology made this law a hollow mockery. Attempted modifications to adjust for changing technology, while helpful to some extent, proved generally futile. A new method, known in this country as workmen's compensation, was devised. In this new system the question of negligence, whether of the worker or employer, is no longer important. Compensation for accidents is paid without respect to fault and the amount paid is proportionate to the damages suffered. Germany led the way in 1884 and the rest of Europe soon followed.

The American movement for workmen's compensation was late in developing and gained its first momentum in 1911 when laws were adopted in ten states. Kansas, although not an industrial state, was among the very first to act. Of the compensation laws now on the statute books, those of Kansas and Washington were the first to be enacted, both being approved on March 14, 1911.¹ The Kansas act, however, did not go into effect until January 1, 1912. Nevertheless, of existing state acts, only five were made effective before that of Kansas, and two others became effective on the same date.² Because it was one of the first to be enacted, a study of the Kansas law throws some light on the nature and development of the American compensation movement.

1. *Laws, Kansas, 1911*, ch. 218.

2. U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin No. 272*, p. 13. Those effective before the Kansas act were: Wisconsin, May 3, 1911; Nevada, July 1, 1911; New Jersey, July 4, 1911; California, September 1, 1911; Washington, October, 1, 1911; New Hampshire and Ohio, January 1, 1912.

Strangely enough, there had been practically no agitation in Kansas for a compensation act prior to its passage. Organized labor was struggling for an improved employers' liability law, and the desirability of compensation was not even mentioned in the reports of the Kansas Federation of Labor's legislative committees until the August, 1910, convention.³ The American Federation of Labor had, of course, already gone on record in favor of compensation.

A "state council" of the National Civic Federation was organized in Kansas in June, 1910, and Sim A. Bramlette, president of the Kansas Federation of Labor, was a member. At the organization meeting many topics were discussed, but uniform legislation and workmen's compensation received the greatest consideration.⁴ That much interest in workmen's compensation was being manifested by leaders in the legal and other professions became evident. In his report to the 1910 convention, Mr. Bramlette recommended that the convention should resolve for the appointment of an investigating committee similar to that of New York, and that the federation should strive for the passage of a compensation act.⁵ The recommendation was adopted. But events were moving rapidly, and instead of remaining content to strive for an investigating committee, organized labor proceeded to secure pledges from candidates of both parties to enact a compensation law during the 1911 session of the legislature.

When the legislative session was well under way, several compensation bills were introduced. Partly because other important proposals were pending, such as suffrage, initiative and referendum, public utility regulation, inheritance and corporation taxation, but largely because of political dissension with its consequent wrangling, squabbling, bickering and maneuvering, workmen's compensation received little attention. The governor felt obliged to send a special message reminding the legislators that both parties were pledged to enact a compensation law. He urged action.⁶ The house and senate appointed a joint committee on labor to prepare a common bill, and that committee held hearings for an entire week at which representa-

3. The legislative committee of the Kansas State Society of Miners in 1906 recommended consideration of the workmen's compensation bill reported by the Massachusetts committee on relations between employer and employee. "Proceedings [of the Eighth Convention] of the Kansas State Society of Miners, 1906," in Inspector of Coal Mines, Kansas, *Biennial Report*, 1904-1906, pp. 223, 224. The committee did not recommend that a similar bill be prepared and its enactment attempted, but it did appear to feel that workmen's compensation might be a good substitute for the system existing at that time.

4. Proceedings of the fourth annual convention, Kansas State Federation of Labor, reprinted in part in the *Twenty-sixth Annual Report* of the Kansas Bureau of Labor, p. 63.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 64.

6. *Topeka State Journal*, February 9, 1911.

tives of employers and employees made known their wishes regarding compensation and also regarding a general employers' liability law. Representatives of labor favored both; representatives of employers opposed both.⁷ It was reported that the joint committee informed the employers' representatives that one or the other of the two bills would be passed, offered them their choice of the two, and that they chose the compensation bill as the lesser of the two evils.⁸ Opposition by the employers practically disappeared when the committee made the compensation act elective rather than compulsory. There is reason to believe that organized labor would have been satisfied with a general employers' liability law.⁹

A bill was prepared by the joint committee and introduced in both houses.¹⁰ The provisions seem to have been agreed upon by representatives of unions and employers.¹¹ In the house, the bill met with so little opposition that the commissioner of labor was "fined" a barrel of apples because of the "extreme courtesy" shown the measure.¹² However, the house amended the bill to make it applicable only to employers of fifteen or more, rather than the five specified.

In the senate there was some opposition to the committee bill. A faction attempted to substitute for it a bill establishing a commission of seven, consisting of one senator, one representative, two workers, two employers, and the commissioner of labor, to investigate thoroughly the entire subject of workmen's compensation and employers' liability and report its findings and proposals to the 1913 legislature.¹³ A compromise was finally effected by adding to the committee bill a section providing for such a commission.¹⁴

Each house passed its bill with amendments, and with substantial

7. Topeka *Daily Capital*, February 2 and 4, 1911. Not all employers were opposed to the compensation bill. Sen. Emerson Carey, a producer of salt, secured the inclusion of salt plants in the act.

8. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1911; Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, February 3, 1911.

9. Sim A. Branlette, president of the Kansas Federation of Labor, in a letter to *The Labor Herald*, dated February 23, 1911, complained that the general employers' liability bill had not even been reported out of committee, but he did not mention workmen's compensation.—*Labor Herald*, Pittsburg, March 3, 1911. In the March, 1911, issue of *The Coopers International Journal*, published in Kansas City by the Coopers' union, only two Kansas bills are mentioned under the heading of "The Legislative Outlook," Anti-Sunday baseball and Anti-Sunday amusements.—*The Coopers International Journal*, March, 1911, pp. 162, 163. In a newspaper column entitled "The Industrial Outlook for 1911," the state commissioner of labor said nothing about workmen's compensation.—Topeka *Daily Capital*, January 1, 1911, p. 17. In messages to the governor, organized labor groups urged enactment of both compensation and liability laws without special emphasis on either.—Official correspondence of Gov. W. R. Stubbs, in Kansas State Historical Society.

10. Substitute for Senate Bill No. 331, and House Bill No. 1029.

11. Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, March 3, 1911.

12. Topeka *Daily Capital*, February 18, 1911, p. 4.

13. Substitute for Senate Bill No. 331; Topeka *State Journal*, March 2, 1911.

14. Section 48 of Substitute for Senate Bill No. 331; *House Journal*, Kansas, 1911, pp. 862, 1002; *Senate Journal*, Kansas, 1911, pp. 857, 858.

majorities. The principal points of divergence were the fifteen-man limit inserted by the house and the provision for an investigating commission inserted by the senate. Three conference committees were appointed and each agreed on a compromise, but the house consistently refused to modify its stand. The senate finally acceded completely to the house, and the bill was approved on March 14, the last day of the legislative session, with the fifteen-man limit and without the investigating commission.

The measure was bitterly attacked by labor leaders. The president of the Kansas Federation of Labor and the chairman of the legislative board of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen wrote that it was "ineffective," an "insult to labor," and that farm leaders had displayed "total disregard for the masses and thereby affirmed their allegiance to special interests."¹⁵ Their criticism was directed specifically and solely against the clause limiting the act to employers of fifteen or more workers. The editor of the *Appeal to Reason*, national Socialist weekly published at Girard, was equally bitter. The law, he wrote, was not a "workingman's bill," but a measure behind which corporations could hide whenever it suited their purpose.¹⁶ Indeed, he continued, the workers had really lost the protection previously granted them by common and employers' liability law, and if the workers now wanted "justice and economic freedom they must go to the ballot box and vote the Socialist ticket."¹⁷

Not so gloomy a view was taken by the state commissioner of labor. The limited scope was a disappointment to him, but considering the "immense advantage" of such a "humane system," the law was a step in the right direction and it would be improved by future amendments.¹⁸ Officials of the American Federation of Labor wrote that Kansas unionists had done "themselves proud" in securing the law's enactment.¹⁹

15. *The Labor Record*, Kansas City, March 10, 1911. The Kansas Farmer's Union and the Kansas State Grange were neither for nor against workmen's compensation.—*The Farmers' Union*, Salina, February, 1910, February, 1911; *Kansas Farmer*, Topeka, January 7, 1911, p. 19. It is quite possible, however, that the farm element in the house was responsible for the fifteen-man limit.

16. *Appeal to Reason*, Girard, April 1, 1911.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Johnson, W. L. A.—Letter in *The Labor Record*, March 24, 1911.

19. A. F. of L., "Weekly News Letter," April 22, 1911, quoted in *The Coopers International Journal*, June, 1911, p. 349.

SCOPE OF THE ACT OF 1911

The act applied only to injury by accident arising out of and in the course of employment in certain especially dangerous occupations conducted for business, trade, or gain.²⁰ These occupations were enumerated as follows: railroading, manufacturing, mining, quarrying, electric, building and engineering work, laundering, natural gas plants, and all employments in which dangerous explosives or inflammable materials were used. Very broad definitions of the occupations were laid down, and they included detailed enumeration of particular kinds of plants covered.

However, the legislature believed that the necessity and reason for the law existed only with regard to employers having a considerable number of employees. The act was therefore made applicable only to employers of fifteen or more workmen. Employers of fewer than fifteen were permitted to elect to come under the act, in which case their employees were included, unless they served notice to the contrary. Accidents in businesses or employments engaged in interstate commerce and not subject to state legislative power were, of course, excluded.²¹

Compensation was not made the exclusive remedy.²² Where an

20. The state supreme court has defined an accident as "simply an undesigned, sudden, and unexpected event, usually of an afflictive or unfortunate character, and often accompanied by a manifestation of force."—*Gilliland v. Cement Co.*, 104 Kan. 771, 773. It has ruled as compensable an injury occurring because of an epileptic fit, *Cox v. Refining Co.*, 108 Kan. 320; pneumonia resulting because of excessive heat suffered in cleaning boilers, *Hoag v. Laundry*, 113 Kan. 513; paralysis resulting from exposure to alternating heat and cold, *Taylor v. Swift & Co.*, 114 Kan. 431.

Occupational diseases were not covered, but the court laid down the rule that if "an accident so contributes to or influences the progress of an existing disease as to cause a disability, it is sufficient to justify an award. . . ."—*Blackburn v. Brick & Tile Co.*, 107 Kan. 722, Syl. On this ground it ruled the following compensable: Pulmonary hemorrhage suffered while breaking rock, after working three years at a dusty task, *Gilliland v. Cement Co.*, 104 Kan. 771; multiple sclerosis, *Blackburn v. Brick & Tile Co.*, 107 Kan. 772; death caused by drinking ice water when over-heated, *Gilliland v. Zinc Co.*, 112 Kan. 39; "milk-leg" developed after an operation for hernia, *Bidnick v. Armour & Co.*, 113 Kan. 277; inability to labor caused by pain engendered by an accident, *Trowbridge v. Wilson & Co.*, 102 Kan. 521.

Furthermore, an injury, to be compensable, need not be caused by some hazard peculiar to the employment; it is sufficient that it be incidental to the employment.—*Tierney v. Telephone Co.*, 114 Kan. 706; *Stark v. Wilson, Receiver*, 114 Kan. 459, 462. Thus a station agent injured while lighting a fire with kerosene was entitled to compensation.—*Benson v. Railway Co.*, 104 Kan. 198. The dependents of a street car conductor killed by a robber were allowed compensation.—*Stark v. Wilson, Receiver*, 114 Kan. 459. But a mere fight was held not to arise out of the worker's employment.—*Romerez v. Swift & Co.*, 106 Kan. 844.

Injuries arising out of "horse play," customary and known to the employer, are incidents to the employment and compensable.—*Stuart v. Kansas City*, 102 Kan. 307. An injury incurred by riding on a truck for amusement during the noon hour, in accordance with a custom known to and approved by her employer, is compensable.—*Thomas v. Manufacturing Co.*, 104 Kan. 432.

A worker sent by his employer from one mine to another and killed on the way was held not to have been "in or about" his place of employment.—*Bevard v. Coal Co.*, 101 Kan. 207, 215.

21. Until 1916 courts generally held that states could legislate on compensation for injuries to workers in interstate commerce where the employer was not at fault. But in that year the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the New York decision on that point.—*N. Y. Central R. R. Co. v. Winfield*, 244 U. S. 147. The Kansas supreme court put itself in line with this decision in 1918.—*Matney v. Railway Co.*, 102 Kan. 293.

22. Of the acts passed in 1911, those of New Hampshire and Nevada permitted damage suits in lieu of compensation; those of New Jersey, Wisconsin and Massachusetts only before electing compensation; that of California if the employer was personally grossly negligent or

accident was caused by the proximate negligence of the employer, directors, managing officers or agents of the employer, or partner, or member of the association, but "excluding the negligence of competent employees in the performance of their duties or of the employer's duty delegated to them," the injured employee or his legal representative could elect to sue for damages or to accept compensation under the act.²³

In order to forestall some possible abuses, several safeguards were written into the law. If a worker deliberately injured himself, his employer was not liable to pay compensation for that injury. Failure on the part of the worker to use safeguards or protections against accident required by law and provided for him, or reasonable and proper guards and protection voluntarily furnished by the employer, also relieved the employer of liability. As interpreted by the state supreme court, this condition is not necessarily fulfilled by mere voluntary and intentional omission, but "includes the element of intractableness, the headstrong disposition to act by the rule of contradiction."²⁴ Accidents resulting solely from the worker's deliberate violation of statutory safety regulations were not compensable. If a worker was intoxicated when injured he was not entitled to compensation.

ELECTION

Like most of the American compensation acts, the Kansas act of 1911 was elective for both employers and employees.²⁵ Employers electing to come under the act were required to file a written statement to that effect and the election was binding for one year and automatically renewed for one-year periods unless withdrawn by written notice. Every eligible employee was assumed to elect unless written notice to the contrary was served upon the employer before

violated a safety law; that of Ohio if the injury was the result of wilful act of the employer or his agents or for failure to comply with a safety law; that of Washington if the injury resulted from the deliberate intention of the employer.—U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 97*, chart facing page 906.

23. An ingenious attempt to evade the spirit of the law was made in 1916. An employer had elected not to come within the act. One of his employees who had not elected not to accept and was therefore under the act, sustained an injury which necessitated the amputation of a leg. The employer maintained that the worker had no remedies outside the compensation act and that since the employer had elected not to come under the act he was not liable to pay the compensation provided by it. The court ruled that an action was maintainable under the factory act.—*Smith v. Cement Co.*, 94 *Kan.* 501.

24. *Bersch v. Morris and Co.*, 106 *Kan.* 800.

25. Of the acts passed in 1911, those of Nevada and Washington were compulsory as to the state and municipalities.—U. S. Bureau of Labor, *Bulletin No. 97*, chart facing page 906.

It is said that laws were made elective because the New York law of 1910 was declared unconstitutional in 1911 in *Ives v. South Buffalo Ry. Co.*, 201 *N. Y.* 271, 94 *N. E.* 431.—Commons and Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation* (1927), p. 438. The New York law had been upheld by an appellate division of the New York supreme court, 140 *App. Div.* 921, 125 *N. Y. Supp.* 1125. The reversal in the *Ives* case was made on March 24, 1911, which was ten days after the Kansas law had been approved by the governor.

injury, and change in election was permitted only after written notice to the employer. Any contract requiring an eligible employee not to elect was declared to be void.

An ingenious method was devised to induce recalcitrant employers and employees to accept the act. For employers electing not to come within the act, the common law defenses of assumption of risk, fellow service, and contributory negligence were abrogated, but contributory negligence was to be considered by the jury in assessing the amount of recovery in suits for damages. The common law defenses were allowed against employees electing not to come within the act, but not in cases where injury was caused by willful or gross negligence of the employer, his officer or agent, or where they were not available at the time of death or injury.

SCALE OF COMPENSATION

The amount of compensation allowed in case of death varied with the extent of dependency involved. If anyone wholly dependent upon the earnings of the deceased survived, compensation was three times the earnings of the deceased during the preceding year, with a maximum of \$3,600 and a minimum of \$1,200. But if the dependents were not "citizens of and residing at the time of the accident in the United States or the Dominion of Canada," compensation was not to exceed \$750.²⁶ In case no dependents survived, compensation was only for the reasonable expense of medical attendance and burial, not exceeding \$100. Where death followed as the result of an injury, compensation payments already made as a result of that injury were deducted from the total compensation allowed for death.

No distinction was made between temporary total disability and permanent total disability, and compensation for disability of any kind was payable only after a two-week waiting period. For total disability of either kind an injured workman received fifty percent of his average weekly earnings, but not less than \$6 nor more than

26. This provision was declared unconstitutional by the Kansas supreme court in 1921. A coal miner whose dependent parents were Italian citizens residing in the United States was killed. The employer maintained that compensation should not exceed \$750. The United States in 1913 had entered into a treaty with Italy guaranteeing, among other things, equality and reciprocity of certain rights. The federal constitution makes treaties the supreme law of the land, and the above section appeared to conflict with the treaty. Furthermore, the court held that it violated the equal protection clause of the Federal constitution.—*Vietti v. Fuel Co.*, 109 *Kan.* 179. In 1924, however, the Pennsylvania supreme court held that a provision of the Pennsylvania act restricting benefits of non-resident aliens to two-thirds those of citizens was constitutional.—*Liberato v. Royer*, 281 *Pa.* 227, 126 *Atl.* 257. This decision was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court on the grounds that the treaty with Italy dealt only with remedies for injuries and death due to the negligence of the employer, which is not involved in compensation legislation, and that the compensation act was elective.—*Liberato v. Royer*, 46 *Sup. Ct.* 373. See U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin No.* 423, p. 72.

\$15 per week, for a period not to exceed ten years.²⁷ For permanent partial disability a workman was allowed payments amounting as nearly as possible to fifty percent, but not less than twenty-five percent nor more than fifty percent, of the difference between earning before the injury and the amount the incapacitated person would be able to earn in some suitable employment or business after the injury, with a maximum of \$12 and a minimum of \$3. But if he was under 21 years of age when injured and his average weekly earnings were less than \$10, then compensation was not less than seventy-five percent of this difference.²⁸ The period during which these payments could be continued was not to exceed ten years.

Compensation payments to injured workmen were made at the same time, place and manner as regular earnings, but a judge of any district court having jurisdiction could, upon application of either party, modify this regulation in a particular case as he saw fit. Such payments were not assignable or subject to levy, execution or attachment, except for medicine, medical attention or nursing. No attorney could get an enforceable lien against them for services rendered in securing the indemnity unless his claim was approved in writing by the judge before whom the case was tried, or if there had been no trial, then by any judge of a district court.

After payments had been made for not less than six months, the employer was permitted to redeem his liability by paying a lump

27. Incapacity to work was interpreted by the supreme court to mean loss of earning power because of injury, whether the result of inability to perform work obtainable or to secure work.—*Gorrell v. Battelle*, 93 *Kan.* 375. See *Ruth v. Witherspoon-Englar Co.*, 98 *Kan.* 179, where it was held that an employer was not liable to pay compensation for a prolonged period of incapacity resulting from incompetent or negligent medical services, even though provided by the employer.

28. There was some dispute concerning the worker's right to continue to receive compensation should his earning capacity become as great or greater than it was before the injury. In one instance an employer retained a partially incapacitated worker at his former wage and maintained that this relieved him of liability to pay compensation. The court ruled against the employer, saying: "If this employment relieved the defendant of liability, then any employer can escape liability for compensation by retaining the injured employee and paying him wages, although he may not be able to do as good work after the injury as he did before. An injured employee may not wish to continue to work for the one in whose employ he was injured, and because of his injury he can not obtain as good wages in another place."—*Gailey v. Manufacturing Co.*, 98 *Kan.* 53, 54; see, also, *Allen v. Kansas City Fibre Box Co.*, 122 *Kan.* 178. But even where a worker earns as much or more with another employer, he may still be entitled to compensation. "While our compensation law proceeds upon the theory that usually the capacity of a workman to perform labor bears a close relation to his earnings when employed, we do not think his capacity in this respect is to be determined solely by the amount of his earnings. The question is affected by the demand for and supply of the particular kind of labor, as well as by the cost of living and of commodities generally; these matters and the price commonly paid at a given time or place for skilled and unskilled labor are factors which enter into the question. Everyone knows that within the past four or five years, wages of all kinds have constantly advanced and in many kinds of employment have more than doubled. . . . The injured workman is entitled to all the benefactions that come by reason of any advance in wages paid for the same kind of employment."—*Hood v. Transit Co.*, 106 *Kan.* 76, 78. See, also, *Dennis v. Cafferty*, 99 *Kan.* 810, and *Milling Co. v. Ellis*, 115 *Kan.* 431. An interesting case for which the court found no American precedent arose in 1917. A workman totally disabled in industry was conducting a cleaning, pressing, and tailoring business, directing it but not doing any of the physical labor, and earning as much or more than before his injury. He was allowed compensation.—*Moore v. Manufacturing Co.*, 99 *Kan.* 443.

sum equal to eighty percent of the amount remaining due, and this amount was determined by agreement, or failing agreement, by a district court judge having jurisdiction.

DETERMINATION OF COMPENSATION DUE

Three methods for determining the amount of compensation due were provided: by agreement between the parties, arbitration, and action in court. The simplest of these methods, and the one most frequently utilized, was the agreement. What usually happened in practice was that the worker accepted whatever the employer offered in settlement. Failing agreement, the parties could arbitrate. Standing committees representative of workers and employers were authorized to settle disputes arising under the act,²⁹ or to select an arbitrator for the purpose if neither party objected. If no committee existed, or either party objected, or if the committee or arbitrator failed to settle the dispute within sixty days after the date of the claim, then it could be submitted to a single arbitrator agreed upon by the parties, or to an arbitrator selected by any judge of a court where an action might have been maintained. Consent to arbitrate had to be in writing and signed by both parties, and it could limit the time within which the award had to be made as well as the arbitrator's fees. Only the question of the amount of compensation involved could be decided, unless other questions were expressly referred.

Any agreement or arbitration award could be modified at any time by a subsequent agreement, or by a court at any time after one year upon application of either party, on the ground that the incapacity of the worker had subsequently either increased or diminished. Application was to be made to the district court having jurisdiction, and unless both parties consented to arbitration, the court could appoint a physician to examine the worker and to report, and could on the basis of this report, after hearing the evidence of the parties, modify the agreement or award. This provision did not apply to judgments obtained in court actions.³⁰

Any agreement or award could be canceled by a judge of a district court having jurisdiction upon application of either party, if the worker had returned to work and was earning approximately the same or higher wages than before the accident; if the award had

29. Few committees of this kind existed. The Cudahy Packing Co., and the Kansas City Packing Box Co. had such committees.—*Goodwin v. Packing Co.*, 104 *Kan.* 747; *Duncan v. Packing Box Co.*, 110 *Kan.* 494.

30. See *Roberts v. Packing Co.*, 98 *Kan.* 750.

been obtained by fraud or by undue influence; if the committee or arbitrator acted without authority or was guilty of serious misconduct; if the award was grossly inadequate or excessive; if the employee absented himself from a reasonable medical examination; or if the employee had gone beyond the boundaries of the United States or Canada.

Failing agreement or arbitration, the worker's right to compensation was determined by action in any court of competent jurisdiction.³¹ But jury trial was waived unless either party to the dispute demanded a jury with his notice of trial or when the case was placed upon the calendar. If in an action of this kind judgment was for the worker, compensation was either in a lump sum, with interest on payments over-due, or, in the judge's discretion, in periodical payments. All actions of this kind had to be brought and maintained in Kansas. Cause of action accrued at the time of accident, and time limits ran from that date. All attorneys' fees were subject to the approval of the court.³²

If a worker feared for the security of his compensation payments, he was authorized to ask judgment against the employer for a lump sum payment equal to eighty percent of the amount due and unpaid and prospectively due under an award or agreement, and the court, after examining the worker under oath and if satisfied that he actually doubted the security of his payments, could render judgment for that amount. But if the employer gave a good bond as security for payment, the judgment could not be executed so long as the proper payments were made. Proceedings of this kind could be stayed by a bond as above or a certificate of an insurance company showing that the payment of compensation was insured. Both bond and certificate had to be approved by the court.

31. An attempt, unusual in its nature, to evade the law was frustrated by the supreme court. An injured worker and his employer had failed to reach an agreement. The worker applied to the district court for an arbitrator to determine the character and quality of his disability and the amount of compensation due. An arbitrator was appointed by the court, and after a full and complete hearing made and filed an award in the office of the clerk of the district court, as required by law. The employer ignored the award. The clerk refused to issue an execution for the amount due on the ground that the law did not authorize him to do so. The employee then filed praecipe requesting that the clerk issue execution, and the district court refused to grant the writ. Mandamus proceedings were then successfully instituted in the supreme court to compel issuance of execution.—*Palmer v. Fincke*, 122 *Kan.* 825.

32. Proceedings to recover compensation were not maintainable under the 1911 act unless written notice of the accident, stating the time, place, particulars, etc., was given within ten days after the accident, and unless claim had been made within six months after the accident, or in case of death six months after death, delivered directly or by registered mail to the employer. But the want of or any defect in such notice, or in its service, did not constitute a bar to recovery unless the employer proved that he had been thereby prejudiced; nor was recovery barred if any defect was occasioned by mistake, physical or mental incapacity or other reasonable cause; and failure to make the claim within the period specified was not a bar if occasioned by mistake, physical or mental incapacity or other reasonable cause.

MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS

In order to prevent malingering, an injured workman was required to submit to examination by a reputable physician selected by the employer, but not oftener than once in two weeks unless ordered to do so by a proper court or judge. The injured workman could have his own physician present to participate in the examination, and unless he was permitted to do so the employer's physician was barred from giving evidence in any dispute as to the injury. In case of dispute, the arbitrating committee, arbitrator, or district court judge, was authorized to employ a neutral physician at the expense of the parties involved, upon petition of either the workman or employer or of the dependents. Refusal to submit to a physical examination deprived the worker of his right to compensation during the period of refusal.³³

ALTERNATIVE SCHEMES

Provision was made for alternative schemes. Any employer having a scheme of compensation benefit or insurance for the worker providing scales of compensation "not less favorable" to the worker and his dependents than those laid down in the law could, upon certification by the superintendent of insurance "by and with the advice and written approval of the attorney general," substitute his scheme for the one provided by law, and would become liable in accordance with that scheme. Where the workers contributed to the scheme, then extra benefits at least equivalent to the amount contributed by the workers had to be provided. The superintendent of insurance was authorized to revoke such certification for valid and substantial reasons.

THE LAW COMPARED WITH STANDARDS

Thus Kansas was launched on her attempt to substitute a better method of compensation for accidents than that afforded by the antiquated system of employers' liability. The ideal was to provide benefits without suit or proof of negligence on the employer's part and by making this compensation certain to relegate the shyster damage-suit lawyer to the limbo of curious antiquities, and to standardize compensation for comparable injuries. But this attempt fell short of the ideal, as a comparison of the act with various standards will show.

33. The supreme court ruled that unreasonable refusal to undergo a surgical operation deprives an injured worker of his right to compensation. Whether or not any particular refusal is unreasonable is a question to be decided by a jury.—*Strong v. Iron and Metal Co.*, 109 Kan. 117; *Gilbert v. Independent Construction Co.*, 121 Kan. 841.

The act was modeled after the bill recommended by the National Civic Federation for common carriers by railroad, but there were important differences.³⁴ The model bill recommended four years' earnings with a maximum of \$3,000 as compensation for death, whereas the Kansas act allowed only three years earnings, but a maximum of \$3,600. For partial or total disability the N. C. F. bill recommended fifty percent of earnings with a maximum of \$10 weekly for a maximum period of ten years, and the Kansas act allowed twenty-five to thirty percent, with a maximum of \$12 and a minimum of \$3, for no longer than ten years. The Kansas act made no provision whatsoever for medical aid, while the model bill recommended a maximum of \$100 in a given case. It is a curious fact that the early movement was so little concerned with the immediate and fundamental problem of medical care for the injured. There is no evidence, at least in Kansas, that the medical profession felt any interest or responsibility in the matter. The model bill was compulsory, and this was true of the Kansas bill at first, but before it was enacted the elective feature was incorporated.

Compared with the standards set for compensation laws by the American Association for Labor Legislation in 1916, the Kansas act was quite deficient. The standards suggested a compulsory law including within its scope all except casual employments regardless of the number of workmen employed and all injuries and deaths arising in the course of employment, including occupational diseases. The Kansas act was elective, applied only to certain employments enumerated as especially hazardous, and to injuries arising "out of" as well as in the course of employment, and excluded occupational diseases. Perhaps these limitations can be excused in a first act. The constitutionality of a compulsory act had not been decided, and but little was known of the nature and extent of industrial accidents. It is true also that the term "accident" has been liberally interpreted by the Kansas supreme court, that the problem of occupational disease is not relatively important in this state, that the task of applying such a provision is difficult, and that all of the early laws had a similar exclusion. Furthermore, the standards provided that the remedy of compensation should be exclusive, while the Kansas act permitted the worker to sue for damages or elect compensation where the accident was caused by the proximate negligence of the employer.

34. "The Report of the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Commission," 62 Cong., 2 Sess., *Senate Document No. 338*, v. 2, p. 1113. For the model bill see *ibid.*, pp. 17-24. *Laws, Kansas*, 1911, ch. 218.

The scale of benefits set up by the 1911 act was distinctly inferior to that suggested in the standards. First of all, medical, surgical, hospital services and supplies were not provided. The waiting period was two weeks, twice as long as the maximum recommended. Compensation in case of death was rather rigidly limited, and careful graduations for various kinds and degrees of dependency in the standards were not provided. Here again it was difficult to move forward rapidly over unknown and uncertain ground, but more could have been done had the movement been well organized and the problem well analyzed. Furthermore, dependents not citizens of and residing in the United States were discriminated against. And employers were allowed to commute death benefits at eighty percent of their liability rather than at the present value at four percent.³⁵

Compensation for total disability was only fifty percent of earnings before injury rather than the sixty-six and two-thirds percent suggested, and the weekly maximum was only \$15 rather than \$20, although the minimum was \$6 rather than \$5. The Kansas law established a maximum period of ten years for both permanent total and permanent partial disability benefits, while the standards suggested no limit. Compensation for permanent partial disability was even less favorable, it being as nearly as possible fifty percent of the difference in earnings before and after injury, with a weekly maximum of \$12 and a minimum of \$3, rather than the sixty-six and two-thirds percent, with a maximum of \$20 and a minimum of \$5 per week suggested.

In still other respects the law of 1911 was defective. There was no provision for insuring the payment of compensation. Many injured workers with just claims for compensation were unable to collect their payments because their employers had not insured their risks and they were financially unable to meet their obligations.³⁶ It was only in 1927 that the Kansas law was partially modernized in this respect. Court administration, which was slow, costly and clumsy, was not superseded by commission administration until 1927, consequently the procedure for settling compensation claims was not satisfactory.³⁷ Indeed there was a noticeable tendency for injured workmen to receive less compensation than the law allowed

35. A \$1,500 award at \$15 per week for 100 weeks would yield approximately \$240 more at present value at four percent than at eighty percent of liability.

36. Kansas Department of Labor and Industry, *Thirty-first and Thirty-second Annual Reports*, p. 25.

37. An attempt was made to establish a compensation commission when the act was first passed. House Bill No. 758, was introduced on February 1, 1911, by A. H. McCormick, and was given a second reading on the next day. The judiciary committee, to which it was referred, recommended that it be passed. The ways and means committee, however, recommended that it be not passed.—*House Journal*, 1911, pp. 239, 253, 401, 690.

for their injuries, and often it was only after costly litigation that full compensation was obtained. And, not least important, there was no satisfactory provision for full and accurate accident reports. This deplorable lack of interest in adequate accident statistics was not peculiar to Kansas, but was a general phenomenon.

Despite these deficiencies and the bitter criticism of some labor leaders, there is reason to believe that the Kansas act was on the whole about as good as labor expected. Frank Gilday, state mine inspector and secretary of the Kansas Society of Miners, published in December, 1910, an outline of a proposed compensation law for miners.³⁸ For fatal accidents, he proposed fifty percent of average earnings for four years and estimated that this would amount to a maximum of about \$2,200. For "permanent injuries," he proposed fifty percent of average earnings for ten years, an estimated maximum of about \$2,750. Temporary total disability was to be compensated at fifty percent of average earnings, an average of \$23 per month. A waiting period of two weeks was proposed. There was no minimum limit on the number of employees, and employers would have been required to insure their risks. Nothing whatsoever was said about medical care for the injured, or administration.

Gilday noted that some miners would prefer an employer's liability law, but he believed that a compensation law was more equitable, fair, just and beneficial, because it meant compensation without a lawsuit. However, he would have permitted a worker whose injury resulted from the employer's negligence to sue for damages.

38. Printed letter to officers and members of local unions of coal miners, dated November 1, 1910. A copy will be found in the "Official Letters of Gov. W. R. Stubbs," Kansas State Historical Society.

Bypaths of Kansas History

ANOTHER OSAGE WEDDING

From *History of the Shawnee Indians* (Cincinnati, Ephraim Morgan & Sons, 1855), by Henry Harvey, pp. 312-316.

While residing as agent among the Osage Indians, in 1850, I was invited, with my family, to attend a wedding. The marriage was between two half-breeds, both of whom were educated—one at the Harmony Mission, and the other at the Osage Catholic Mission. The marriage was to be consummated at the Catholic Mission, after their order. The young man's parents resided about five miles distant from the mission.

The parties, very politely, both invited us to be present on the occasion, and offered to send their ox-teams and wagons, and haul us, but we had conveyances of our own. About ten in the morning, all parties repaired to the Catholic church. The ceremony was administered by the priest, and advice on the occasion, and prayer, etc., attended to, when the meeting was dismissed and the company set off for the "dinner-place." The married couple rode foremost, and next, their two attendants—all dressed very nicely and costily, and on fine horses—then the company promiscuously, some in horse-wagons, some in ox-wagons, others on horseback, and many on foot—dogs by the score, too. Altogether the company extended for a considerable distance, and made a very antic appearance indeed.

On arriving at the residence of the young woman, and observing this singular company all gathered in and around the house, I was struck with the novel sight: there were dragoons, in uniform, from Fort Scott, Frenchmen, Cherokees, Quapaws, Senecas, Caws, Osages, Negroes, and American citizens, all there, mingling together, conversing in seven or eight different languages, and having as many different complexions. Every kind of dress, from the richest silk and broadcloth to the old dirty blanket. There were ponies, mules, jacks, horses, oxen, and dogs, to any number, and fighting each other all round.

All seemed to enjoy themselves well, except one man, a half-breed Osage and generally a clever fellow, who had got whisky, was drunk, and very mad; for some time he appeared to be dangerous, but at length, finding that the agent would have him arrested, he became quiet and there was no more trouble with him that day.

Soon dinner was ready. There was placed in the yard a table, about sixty feet long, which was literally loaded with dishes and victuals of an excellent quality, and very well done up, too, but then there was trouble there, for the hundreds of dogs, which had made their appearance on the ground, by this time wanted to be eating, too. Provision though had been made for this anticipated contingency, so those little fellows had to wait till their turn might come round; there was a tall young Osage gentleman, dressed in a clean white blanket from his hips down, and his upper-half naked and checkered off with antique figures made with red paint, his face and his head painted as red as paint could make them, and not a hair on his head except a small

knot on the top. There he sat, large as life, about the middle of the table, with a nice long whip, made for the occasion, and which was long enough to reach to each end of the table. This whip he used very dexterously, and many a poor dog suffered by it. There he sat, with all the dignity imaginable, in his new office.

While the dinner-table was being made ready for the whites and the more favored class of guests, there were, I should guess, about twenty cooking-fires in and about the yard, where the common Indian women were cooking their *own* dinners. They had a number of large beeves killed. Those who were cooking at these outside fires, had large pieces of beef stuck upon stakes before the fires, and were broiling them before these fires; large kettles of soup were boiling over the coals, and any quantity of coffee making, too, in kettles. Now there was no dog-master allotted to these places, and those half-starved creatures must eat somewhere. The man at the table beat them away from there, and then they would run straight to the other cooking-places. The Indian dogs are generally remarkably tractable, but here were many young ones who were not used to such crowds and were not well trained, and probably felt a good deal like many of their owners did, that, as there was plenty, on every hand, they would make sure of one full meal anyhow.

The women had a hard time, and were to be pitied. The children would be continually dipping their little dirty hands into everything, which was bad enough to bear, but then, the dogs would push their noses right *in* the soup, or pull at the broiling beef; but they paid dear for *their* morsel, for the cook being furnished with a long heavy paddle, with which she kept the soup or coffee in motion, would just as sure paddle the dog on the head or back, as ever he put himself about the victuals, and not be much troubled either, as she would put her paddle right back, and not be at the trouble of cleaning it at all.

When the dinner was ready, the newly-married couple were seated very cleverly at the table, and most of the whites and half-breeds too ate at the same table; which was well attended to by the cooks, and all were very orderly, though a great deal of talking went round, and I may add, that the eating continued until dark. I believe I never saw as much provision consumed in one afternoon before.

Great respect was shown to us, and indeed they gave the preference to the white people entirely.

After the first table was through with dinner, an old black man, who could understand and converse in the Osage language as well as an Indian could, and could make all the fun they desired, drew out his fiddle, and the young people had a real dance till we left, near night, and, as I learned from others, nearly the whole night.

Those of the Indians, who had to cook and eat on the ground, appeared just as happy as those who were more favored, and such as were not invited at all took no offense at being slighted.

There was a great expense attending this marriage, which, according to the Osage rule, has to be borne by the young man who has been so fortunate as to get a wife.

There was an old Indian woman who went about, the whole afternoon, among the crowd, shouting and chanting in the Osage language, which I could

not understand. This woman, as I was informed, was hired for that purpose, and paid for her services a horse and many other articles.

I believe about four hundred people ate dinner at that singular wedding.

I learned that some of the Indians remained on the ground until everything fit to eat was consumed.

REMEMBER THE SABBATH DAY—

From the *Lawrence Republican*, June 2, 1859.

We are glad that the steamer *Silver Lake* is able to make regular trips between this city and the mouth of the river. We hope she may do a large and profitable business. But we are not glad that her owners should evince so little regard for the feelings of the moral and religious classes of our community as to get up an *excursion trip* on the Sabbath; and we are extremely sorry that any considerable number of our citizens should have lent their countenance to so gross and open a desecration of the Sabbath, by taking part in that trip. We are not aware that God made any exception in favor of Kansas, when he said: "*Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.*" It seems to be a general impression that the decalogue has been abrogated west of the Mississippi river, but we can find no just ground for that supposition. On the contrary, we believe it to be just as wicked for men to lie and steal and break the Sabbath and commit adultery in Kansas as any where else. It will be an unfortunate thing for us as a city if we obtain commercial prosperity at the expense of the higher and more sacred interests of morality and religion. "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

"DIED OF INTEMPERANCE"

From the *Emporia News*, July 21, 1860.

A man named William Toppan was found dead near Oskaloosa, Jefferson county, a few days since. From the fact of his having been drunk when last seen alive, and that a gallon jug half full of whisky was found by his side when he was discovered, the coroner's jury returned a verdict of "died of intemperance."

AN INVITATION TO GET SCALPED

From the *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*, July 11, 1867.

FORT WALLACE, KAN., July 2, 1867.

This place is still in a state of siege. There is no forage here, and we have to depend altogether upon grazing the animals. The weather is dry and hot, and the grass is beginning to parch and dry up. Other supplies are beginning to run short. If the Indians do not kill us all off, are we to be allowed to starve?

It has been proclaimed to the world, by certain military gentlemen high in authority, that the cause of the Indian troubles, was the desire of speculators

out here to sell supplies to the government. Where are these speculators, and where are their supplies? I have traveled through from Salina, and can say with truth that there is nothing to sell in the country. There are actually no supplies except what you find at the stage stations, and military posts, and very little is to be found there.

At Fort Harker there was not a pound of forage, and other supplies were either very short, or entirely exhausted. At Fort Hays—the only other military post between Harker and Wallace—they were better supplied, but even there they had not enough for times of peace, to say nothing of the present extraordinary necessities. I have already spoken of the condition of things here.

The stage stations are all short, and they have to haul everything but hay, from Salina, or the end of the railroad, even to Denver City.

A bull-train of forty wagons, loaded with corn for Denver, was attacked day before yesterday, at a point about twelve miles west of here by a band of 60 or 75 Indians. As is usual on such occasions the train was immediately “corralled”—that is, the wagons were driven up close together, with the oxen inside the circle; this protects the cattle, and the wagons form a breastwork, behind which the teamsters fight—and a brisk fight was carried on till night. Yesterday morning the train was started again, and as a measure of extra precaution, the teams were moved four abreast; they had not gone six hundred yards, when they were again attacked, and this time they had to remain corralled until the afternoon, when fortunately a stage from the west came along, and the stage escort and train men uniting, were able to keep off the Indians and bring both train and stage back to Pond Creek. The stage came in here this morning with the wounded—it is perfectly riddled with bullets.

The Indians were very cool and deliberate in their conduct, and showed a method and determination in their movements, that is an entirely new feature in their warfare. Yesterday, while fighting the bull-train, they got hungry, and accordingly drew off out of range and deliberately sat down and cooked and eat their dinners, after which they resumed the fight.

Some of the attacking party spoke English as plainly as any one (though I can't call it good English), calling the train men d—d lousy s—s of b—hs, and telling them to come out from behind the wagons and get scalped.—R. I. T.

BAXTER SPRINGS CELEBRATES ARRIVAL OF RAILROAD IN 1870

From the *Daily Kansas State Record*, Topeka, May 14, 1870.

The reporter of the STATE RECORD had the fortune to arrive at Baxter Springs, if not “the day before the fair,” at least six hours before the “trouble” commenced. This interval of comparative quiet before the “big guns” of the excursion party arrived and “opened fire,” was spent in a stroll about the town and in interviewing the newspaper folks and a few citizens. As everybody's mind, however, was taken up with business, or the approaching “big time,” he was left “muchly” to the “devices and desires of his own heart,” and wandered in “maiden meditation fancy free,” depending on his own optics for information.

The first and last conclusion every stranger arrives at, is that there is in all creation but one Baxter Springs. The position of the town, the number of the springs from which it derives its name and all the surroundings distinguish it from any other Kansas town.

The site of the town being one mile from the Indian territory, seven miles from Missouri and only sixty miles from Arkansas, makes it a gathering place for a singular variety of human and "inhuman" beings. Quapaws, Senecas, Paolas [Peorias?], Cherokees, and other Indians meet on Military street in Baxter, the "Puke" and the "Pike." Indians, Yankees, Arkansans, Jews, Gentiles and Greeks (from Cork), each speaking their own dialect, drinking their favorite "pizen," and all confident of their ability to "whip their weight in wild cats," all conspire to make Military street a little the liveliest "piece of road" in this Western country.

With some of the "leading foibles" of frontiersmen, the Baxterites have many of the sterling qualities. Father Colleton, the well-known Jesuit missionary and preacher, assured the writer that he had nowhere in his extensive travels, met a more attentive congregation, or a more liberal and less bigoted people than at Baxter Springs. The "Baxterites" early had the sense to see that a railroad would be the "making" of their town, worked hard for it, got drunk expeditiously when they "saved it," got sober with equal celerity, and then proceeded to "celebrate" again in due form, as this "ower true tale" is designed (as they say in Arkansas) to "norate."

THE INDIANS CELEBRATE

An Indian war-dance was the first feature on the printed programme, and on Wednesday evening, at about dusk, the "dusky warriors" filed into town on their ponies and went into camp on the public square. The Indians represented several different tribes, the Quapaws being in the majority. The Southern Indians have greatly the advantage in "style over our dingy Potawatomies," who are just civilized enough to look stupid. The Quapaw "galloping swell" arrays his manly form in gorgeous colors, his hat is ornamented with colored feathers and metal bands, he indulges in "pomp and vanities" of buckskin, and calico shirts of striking hues. This shirt does the "leading business," and no Indian gentleman goes without one. Red, green and yellow are the favorite tints, and a party of these Indians resemble in appearance a flock of paroquets. The war-dance, which came off after dark, by the light of a huge bonfire, would not have rejoiced the soul of Barnum, the "dancist." Twenty or thirty of the warriors, in a scanty allowance of clothing, jumped around for some time in a violent manner, accompanying their movements with whoops, growls and howls of varying sweetness and power. This ended the Indian part of the celebration, though a large number of them remained in town interested spectators during its continuance.

THE "WHITE CHIEFS" ARRIVE

Shortly after eight o'clock, the train from Kansas City arrived with a large number of invited guests. We have not room to enumerate the names and titles of each and all. There was Governor Harvey; Hon. Jacob Stotler; Voss, of Bourbon; Snoddy, of Linn; Mayor Halderman, of Leavenworth; Mayor McGee, of Kansas City; Van Fossen, and the hosts of Fort Scott; At-

torney General Danford, Col. Stover, of Versailles, Mo., and many "ladyes fair" were of the party. Of the knights of the pencil, there was a goodly company.

Among the arrivals on Wednesday evening and Thursday evening, were Wilder, of the *Times and Conservative*; Mr. and Mrs. Hicks, of the *Kansas City Journal*; Riley, of the *Kansas City Times*; Simons, of the same; Wholligan, of the *Kansas City News*; Householder and Haines, of the *Kansas City Bulletin*; Johnston, of the *Commonwealth*; Tobey, of the *Lawrence Tribune*; Taylor and Kessler, of the *Wyandotte Gazette*; Col. DeMotte, of the *Lexington (Mo.) Register*; Goodwin, of the *Sedalia Bazoo*; Horner, of the *Chetopa Advance*; [Amos] Sanford, of the *Workingman's Journal*; Dr. Warner, of the *Girard Press*; Barter, of the *Mound City Sentinel*; Ingalls, on behalf of the *Atchison Champion*, and possibly others whom we "know by sight," but can't call by name.

THE EXCURSIONISTS EAT, DANCE AND SLEEP

This army advanced on the devoted town, and were "hospitably entertained" at the Pacific restaurant, and at a large tent converted into a dining hall for the occasion. The hotels were soon filled to overflowing, and the guests were "billeted" at private residences for the night. Late in the evening dancing commenced at "Lee's hall." Two large rooms were crowded with dancers and lookers on. Of course the ball was a success. Kansas ladies, always pretty, always look additionally radiant at a ball, and the number of newspaper people present guaranteed an ample supply of elegant, modest, and graceful partners among the gentlemen. The facilities for dancing in Baxter being superior to those for sleeping, most of the guests took a great deal of the former to a little of the latter.

ORATORY AND A BARBECUE

Thursday was set apart for the speech making, and accordingly the multitude at about 10 a.m. gathered at Van Epp's grove in the edge of town, and gathered about the speakers' stand.

Mr. McKeighan, of Baxter Springs, welcomed the visitors to Baxter Springs in a neat little speech, in which he humorously alluded to, and apologized for, the unavoidable inconveniences to which the visitors had been subjected. He then introduced Attorney-General Danford, who responded for the guests. Gen. Danford "lit out" in one of his "loftiest efforts." He complimented the women on their beauty, and the babies on their numbers and their plumpness. He alluded to the interest of the occasion; now gathered under the green trees and overreaching skies, the representatives of Leavenworth, Kansas City, Lawrence and "hail Columbus," and every portion of the state had met to clasp by the hand the people of Baxter Springs. He painted a glowing picture of the future, when the locomotive which brought the excursionists to Baxter would speed between sun and sun, from the frozen shores of the Great Lakes to the warm waves of the Gulf. In fancy he saw train after train following each other like flitting shadows over this great highway of commerce. He then announced that the condiments, the ice cream, the mammoth ox of the occasion, would be served up in the shape of an oration by Hon. Isaac S. Kalloch. Mr. Kalloch spoke briefly, beginning by disclaiming the intention attributed to him by Gen. Danford, of "spreading himself all over the

audience." He thought no man would have much chance to "spread" after one of Danford's efforts. The speaker alluded to the history of the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf railroad, characterizing it as a pioneer railroad enterprise, its engines being the first to wake the echoes of the Indian country. He said the road had had a stormy history, and spoke of the honest but misguided opposition of some of the settlers of its progress. This part of Mr. Kalloch's speech stirred up a large portion of the audience, and numerous uncomfortable questions were propounded to the speaker. At one time as he was speaking of the common schools of the country, a lady in the crowd remarked, "Where are the schools to come from? Joy has got the school lands!" Mr. Kalloch then went on to speak in the usual vein of railroads; the necessity of national aid, and "gave it to" "briefless lawyers" and others who opposed the congressional policy of land grants to railroads. He finally dropped this subject and closed with a fine panegyric on Kansas, generally.

Dinner was then announced. Several sheep and a big Cherokee steer had been roasted whole and meat was served out to the crowd "by the large." An elegant dinner was provided especially for the guests from abroad.

After dinner, speaking was resumed. Col. Hanford, of Baxter Springs, made an eminently sensible speech to his fellow-citizens, urging a liberal policy toward new-comers, the development of the resources of the country, and invited the attention of capitalists to the magnificent water-power furnished by Spring river.

Gov. Harvey was then introduced and made a few congratulatory remarks contrasting the Baxter Springs, which he once reached after a hot, dusty, and wearisome march during the war days, with the Baxter Springs of today. He came simply to rejoice with the people of Baxter over their prosperity and their prospects, not to enter into the discussion of vexed and disputed questions.

After Gov. Harvey had concluded, loud calls were made for Sanford. The grove rang with "Sanford!" "Sanford!" "Sanford and the League!"

Mayor Halderman made a few remarks, but the cries for "Sanford" were renewed. And at last Judge Sanford proceeded to give his views on the Neutral Land question. He stated that the discussion had been brought up by Mr. Kalloch in the morning. He bitterly denounced the land grant business in congress; he declared that under the Fourteenth Amendment the tribal relation of the Indians ceased, and the treaty business ceased. He was glad Baxter Springs and the Neutral Land had the railroad, and said the people would have the railroad and the land, too. (Tremendous cheers.) He alluded to the poverty of the early settlers of the Neutral Land, and remarked that the people of Cherokee county were not asked to pay \$2,000,000 to build Mr. Joy's railroad. He wished for railroads, but the corporations must build them with their own money, not the people's. He declared the contest one between the poor and honest, and the rich and corrupt, and said the struggle would go on till it resulted in the triumphant vindication of the right.

Judge Sanford's remarks were frequently interrupted by calls of approbation and applause, and it was evident that the Leaguers were "in possession," and wished to hear their side of the question presented. At last Col. Stover came forward, and made a short but interesting speech, telling the settlers to stay on their lands and wait for future justice. Calls were made for "Willey" and "Vincent," and the latter, being sheriff of Cherokee county, made a few re-

marks in defense of the good character of the settlers, and the absence of any necessity for troops in their county.

Dr. Griswold, of Ohio, then spoke at length on the natural beauty of Kansas, the advantages of railway communications, etc.

Calls were made for Voss, and this provoked some hostility in the crowd; finally at the urgent solicitation of Judge Sanford, order was restored, and "Mart" made a speech in favor of the respectful treatment of strangers, law, order, justice and civilization generally.

Col. De Motte, of the Lexington (Mo.) *Register*, closed with a capital little speech, witty, good-natured, conciliatory and at times eloquent. His history of his blissful sleep in the hay-mow the night before, and his declaration that for sleeping purposes, a Baxter hay-mow exceeded a feather bed anywhere else, brought out a storm of laughter and applause. The crowd then dispersed, feeling 100 percent better for the colonel's speech.

"A FEW REMARKS"

Some hours elapsed between the close of the exercises and the departure of the train, at 8:30, and many of the visitors took a parting look at Spring river, which flows within a mile of the city, and ranks as the most beautiful stream in Kansas. Some time was occupied in taking leave of friends in Baxter, and of these the excursionists had many. The representatives of the Topeka press were placed under special obligations to Messrs. Hawkins, Durham, and Lund, formerly of Topeka, now in the real estate business, in Baxter, and to Mr. Coulter, the gentlemanly "local" of the *Cherokee Sentinel*. The excursionists as a body, spoke highly of the hospitality of the leading citizens of the city, and, as under the soft light of the moon the train sped away northward into the wide, slumbering, soundless prairie, all eyes gave a kindly parting glance at Baxter Springs.

TAKING THE 1870 CENSUS

The lot of a frontier census enumerator was not an easy one. Soldiers were escorts for one Z. Jackson, who worked the Barton-Rush county line July 21, 1870. The following has been copied from Jackson's manuscript report (p. 1, v. IV, of the Ninth U. S. Census for Kansas), preserved by the Historical Society:

Name	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation	Place of Birth
Hahn, August	27	M	W	Farmer	Hanover, Germany
Seiglies, Carl	23	M	W	Farmer	Hanover, Germany

Note. I found these settlers on Walnut creek near the west line of Barton county and I was not able to ascertain definitely if they were in Barton or Rush county. I also found two other settlers whom I had enumerated in the Town of Ellsworth, they having left their families at the place because of the fear of Indian difficulties but had come out here with their horses & plows to prepare homes for themselves— This is a beautifull valley and good timber and fine water. All the settlers congregated at one house.

Z. Jackson
Asst. Mar.

Note 2d. I traveled through this country with a strong escort of U. S. soldiers to protect me from the hostile Indians who roam at will over these prairies which ought to be the home of our people in the overcrowded cities of the East.

Z. Jackson
Asst. Mar.

Note 3d. As these settlers are but just commencing and have not yet raised any crops I will not make an agricultural report

I, Z. Jackson, Asst. Mar. for the 41st Disct Kan., certify that the foregoing return was made according to Law & Instructions.

Z. Jackson
Asst. Mar.

AN ASSIST BY THE KANSAS PACIFIC

From the *Ellsworth Reporter*, January 11, 1872.

A curious incident occurred in connection with the severe storm lately up the Kansas Pacific road. During the storm while the train was stopped a large number of buffaloes congregated around the train and stood on the lee side of it for protection against the storm.

ADDENDA TO "COLLEGE FOOTBALL IN KANSAS"

Bliss Isely, of Wichita, has furnished additional information on the Fairmount-Washburn game played December 25, 1905 (see pp. 294, 295). He wrote also of a night game in Wichita on October 6, 1905. His correspondence is quoted in part:

It occurred to me that possibly you might want to have in your files the names of the players who participated in that memorable game on Christmas day, 1905, when the forward pass was born. Here they are:

Washburn	Position	Fairmount
Ralph Johnston	left end	Elmer Cook
David Munford	left tackle	Fred Burton
Clare Smith Lockwood	left guard	R. J. Kirk
John Dadisman	center	William Davis (Capt.)
Irving Platt	right guard	Lawrence Abbey
Frank Daniel Hartzell	right tackle	Bliss Isely
Robert Stewart	right end	Arthur Solter
Hugh Hope	quarter	Charles Burton
Glenn Millice	right half	Charles Cook
Wm. Arthur Smiley	left half	George Solter
Wistar P. Williams (Capt.)	full back	Percy Bates

You may wonder how Bill Davis, playing center, happened to throw the first forward pass. The fact is that Bill was a very powerful kicker and also had strong arms and shoulders. When he threw this pass he went back into

kicking position and I moved over into center. Then Davis passed to Art Solter.

In taking these names from the *Sunflower* [official Fairmount student paper] I do not notice any substitutions. If I remember rightly, there were none.

The genius who arranged for this game was R. J. Kirk, listed as left guard, who also was manager. There was no such thing as faculty management or student-enterprise tickets. The students ran the game and had to make it pay or go broke. The students made up the deficits. Players carried the burden of the financial management. That is really the reason we played this game on Christmas, in an effort to make a few dollars to get out of the hole. All the players who had any money were creditors of the team and wanted to come out. We did not make enough to come out of the hole. I put my overcoat money into the team and after Christmas had to wear the same old overcoat I had been wearing for six years.

Officials were Dr. John Outland, referee; Willis S. Bates, umpire; Theodore H. Morrison, head linesman. Outland was coach of Washburn and Bates of Fairmount. Morrison was librarian at Fairmount. We could not afford to employ officials in that era, except on occasions when we were playing very bitter enemies.

R. J. Kirk is entitled to still another distinction. He instituted night football, although it did not stick. By referring to the *Sunflower* files I find this game was played October 6, 1905. I think that night football had been tried before. . . . The game was between Fairmount and Cooper College of Sterling and was played in Wichita. The score was 24 to 0 in favor of Fairmount, which meant that we made four touchdowns and kicked the goals. In those days a touchdown counted only five points. We discontinued night football because the turnout at the initial game was not sufficient to justify the added expense of lighting.

The lighting used for that game was supplied by the Hydro-Carbon Company, now the Coleman Lamp and Stove Company. These were gasoline-mantle lights. Of course the lights were not to be compared with modern lighting, but in those kerosene days we thought they were grand. Roy Kirk is now on the *San Francisco Call*.

Night football was not new to the Middle West. The *Wichita Daily Eagle* of October 6, 1905, said: "Tonight will demonstrate whether or not football can be played by gaslight. Several are dubious over the outcome, but a majority are of the opinion that it will be a success. A few of the local enthusiasts have seen the game played by gaslight at Des Moines, Iowa, and Richmond, Ind. Both of them say that as far as light is concerned it was a complete success." Of the game and lighting arrangements on the field the *Eagle* of October 7 reported:

That football can be played successfully was demonstrated at Association park last night when, before a large crowd of people, Fairmount college of this city defeated Cooper college of Sterling, by a score of 24 to 0.

In view of the fact that the game was the first of the season as far as the Wichita enthusiasts are concerned, it was a good exhibition and everyone who attended was well satisfied with the result.

The feature of the game and the one in which everyone was interested, even more so than in the result of the contest, was the outcome of the experiment of playing by gas light.

It was a decided success. The only weak point was the fact that in the center of the field there was a place where the light did not shine strong enough for the spectators to witness all of the plays.

Manager Kirk states that in the future this will be overcome by hanging a cluster of lights high in the air over this part of the field. The lights will be suspended fifty feet above the ground by means of wires stretched from the grandstand to poles erected at the north fence. Three or four of these clusters will be hung along the center of the diamond. All of the lights will be fitted with reflectors to turn the light away from the eyes of the spectators and into the field. This was to have been done last night, but the reflectors could not be secured in time for the game.

Twenty-eight lights were strung along the side lines and two more hung at each end of the gridiron. The ball was painted white, so as to be plainly visible when punted. . . .

Kansas History as Published in the Press

Dr. Edward Bumgardner, of Lawrence, is the author of "A Short History of the M. E. Church at Clinton," which appeared in the *Douglas County Republican*, Lawrence, March 7, 1940. The church was organized late in 1855 as the Council City mission, and remained active until it was disbanded in 1922 because of loss of members.

The fiftieth anniversary of Caney's oldest school building was observed April 5, 1940, with an open house entertainment for old-time pupils. The *Caney Daily Chronicle*, of April 6, printed a report of the celebration, which included a talk by Mrs. H. H. Graves reviewing the history of the school.

"In Eight Years Victor Murdock Has Written 2,510 Articles, Based on 2,400 Interviews, Concerning History of This Empire," was the title of a feature article by John Reed, in the *Wichita Sunday Eagle*, April 7, 1940.

Reminiscences of early days in Wallace county were related by Mrs. Mary Kahle in *The Western Times*, Sharon Springs, April 18, 1940.

A reunion of former pupils and teachers of School District No. 42 was held on April 18, 1940, at the Paris school, Lincoln county. *The Lincoln County News*, Lincoln, of April 25, printed a historical sketch of the school based on the reminiscences of former teachers who spoke at the reunion.

Mrs. S. A. Mundell, of Parker, a member of a pioneer Kansas family, contributed to the April 25, 1940, issue of *The Enterprise-Chronicle* of Burlingame some reminiscences of frontier life entitled "Pioneer Days of Kansas."

Former teachers and officials of the Ogallah school, Trego county, met for a reunion in connection with the spring graduation exercises. *The Western Kansas World*, Wakeeney, for April 25, 1940, published a report of the meeting, and listed names of teachers, county superintendents and school board members since 1879.

A history of School District No. 29, Barton county, appeared in the *Hoisington Dispatch*, May 9, 1940. The district was formed in 1875.

The eighty-second anniversary of the Hamelton massacre, which occurred in 1858 in present Linn county, was observed May 19, 1940,

with a program sponsored by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The site of the incident is now included in a sixty-acre memorial park not far from Trading Post. The story of the massacre was reviewed in the Pleasanton *Observer-Enterprise*, May 9, 1940.

Jennie Satterthwaite-Kiser is the author of a review of the early days of the Walnut City school printed in the Douglass *Tribune*, May 10, 1940. Many names of teachers, pupils, and members of school boards were included.

The Sylvan Grove *News* of May 15, 1940, published a list of the high-school graduates during the past thirty-eight years, from 1902 to 1940.

A history of Delhi, Osborne county, and East Wolf, Russell county, written by John W. Manners, Jr., from notes made by his father, a Methodist "circuit rider" in the 1880's, was printed in the Lucas *Independent*, May 29, 1940.

Parker in 1889 was described in the Parker *Message*, May 30, 1940. Brief histories of local institutions were published and several townspeople prominent at the time were mentioned.

On May 30, 1940, *The Ness County News*, Ness City, observed the county's sixtieth anniversary by issuing a twenty-page "Old Settlers' Reunion" edition which included much historical material. Montie Hubbell, of Jetmore, related his experiences of early days in Ness City; Wm. D. Miner, Sr., recalled his business associates of fifty years ago, and Mrs. Nell G. Holtom reviewed the sixty years of the county's existence. Lowell Yasmer, county superintendent, wrote a brief history of the county school system, including the names and terms of office of the superintendents and several school board members, and L. L. Scott and Mrs. John Cole, pioneer settlers, reviewed early days in the county.

In observance of the eightieth anniversary of Washington and Washington county, *The Washington County Register* on May 31, 1940, published a 32-page "Old Home Week" edition. Included in the historical articles were reminiscences of Dan Brown, Asa Darby and John Scruby, all old settlers; historical sketches of the towns of Palmer, Barnes, Greenleaf, Mahaska, Linn, Hollenberg, Morrowville, Clifton and Haddam; a sketch of early days by J. A. Maxwell; a history of the city band, and a description of the tornado of July 4, 1932. In addition there were photographs of early-day scenes and settlers.

Hugh J. Powell, owner of the Coffeyville *Daily Journal*, observed his thirty-fifth anniversary as a newspaper publisher on June 19, 1940, by issuing a twenty-eight page edition of the *Journal*. An account of his life appeared on page one, under the by-line of Russell Greenlee, the city editor, and the second section of the paper was devoted largely to historical articles dealing with persons and institutions of Coffeyville.

"Four Years of Pioneer Life," reminiscences of early days in Kansas, by Mrs. Sarah Borgen, of Woodston, was the title of an article in *The News Chronicle*, Scott City, June 20, 1940. Mrs. Borgen went to Mitchell county as a small girl in 1866, and her recollections are chiefly of Indian depredations.

A "History of Sterling and Rice County," by J. Milo Haynes, was published in the *Sterling Bulletin*, June 20, 27, and July 4 and 11, 1940.

The press of the Wellsville *Globe* issued on June 23, 1940, *A History of the Wellsville Methodist Church*, a fifteen-page pamphlet prepared largely by C. A. Smith, for many years superintendent of the Sunday school. It includes a list of the early ministers and members of the church and a description of the first church building, which burned in 1901. A history of the church prepared in 1906 by J. W. Smith, the author's father, was reprinted. Much of the material, which is taken from the available church records, appeared in several issues of the *Globe*.

Victor Murdock's articles of historical interest recently published in the Wichita (Evening) *Eagle* include the following: "How Peter Roubidoux [of Wallace] Carried Out His Threat to Close His Store for Good," July 9, 1940; "Genius in Stone Work, Pioneer on Prairies, Who Left Mark on a Town [named Wilson]," July 10; "Two Trips to Territory of Which J. B. M'Laughlin Has a Lively Memory," July 19; "Twice as Many Post Offices in Kansas at One Time as There Are Nowadays," July 22; "How J. R. Mead Happened to Pick Towanda Site for Indian Trading Post," July 23; "Approach of the Merchants to Wichita Customers in First Days of the Town," August 7; "Tragedy of the Prairie When Jedediah Smith Died on Dread Jornada," August 21; "Wild Indian Encounter Down South of Wichita Wherein No One Was Hurt," August 27; "Memories of the Opening of the Cherokee Outlet by a Pioneer Westerner [Charles W. Jackson, of Wichita]," September 16; Brief biographical sketch

of Col. J. W. Hartzell, one-time resident of Topeka and Wichita, who helped to promote, build and manage the first street railways in Topeka and Wichita, September 18 and 19; "Earliest School in Wichita East of Railroad Tracks Called the Cowbell School," September 23; "Metalworker Vanguard [an industry now very important in manufacturing airplanes] Which Struck Wichita During Its First Boom," September 27; "Remember Earl Browder When He Was a Cash Boy in Early Wichita Days," September 30; Description of a visit to the region of the Arkansas valley (including Chelsea, an early community on the Walnut, the site of present Wichita and territory to the southwest) based on a record left by W. A. Ela in 1860, October 4, 5 and 7; "Last Visit of Pioneer Creator of Oklahoma [Capt. David L. Payne] to His Old Township Here," October 11; "Account of a Massacre of Federal Surveyors in the Wichita Area [in 1872]," October 16; "Kansas Hunter Used [Buffalo] Hide to Protect His Two Boys in a Wild Indian Attack," October 17.

R. O. Larsen, long-time resident of Shawnee, is now engaged in compiling a history of early days in Johnson county, reported the *Northeast Johnson County Herald*, Overland Park, on July 18, 1940.

Among the articles relating to Kansas history recently published in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times* were the following: "Romantic Roles Just Don't Fit the Dalton Gang of Desperadoes [who robbed the Coffeyville bank the morning of October 5, 1892]," by James Turnbaugh, July 24, 1940; "Kansas Keeps Tradition as a Haven for Peace Seekers in Warring World [a review of immigration to Kansas by groups who refuse to bear arms in war]," by Margaret Whittemore, August 1; "A Copy of Lecompton Constitution Recalls Stirring Period in Kansas," by Cecil Howes, August 2; "Kansas City's 'Immortal [Hannibal] Bridge' Still Serves March of Progress," by J. P. G., August 12; "When Bugler Titus From Kansas Scaled Walls of Besieged Peking [during the Boxer uprising]," by E. R. Schauffler, August 14; "The Fame of Ingalls of Kansas Still Is Bright After 40 Years," by E. R. Schauffler, August 16; "Victorious Dry Crusade in Kansas Started at a Rally Sixty Years Ago," by Cecil Howes, August 21; "Kansas City Staged a Big Show for Its First Draftees in 1917 [bound for Camp Funston]," by Charles S. Stevenson, September 5; "A Dreamer [Cyrus K. Holliday] With \$20,000 Founded the Santa Fe Railway in Kansas," by Cecil Howes,

September 17; "*Dictionary of American History* Emphasizes Part Played by West," September 27.

Notes on the history of Jewell county and Mankato appeared in *The Western Advocate*, Mankato, July 25, 1940. Although the first bona fide settler came to the county in 1862, Indian massacres and robberies made permanent settlements hazardous until 1870, when a great wave of immigration began and the county was organized.

A biographical sketch of Richard Deighton, for whom the town of Dighton, Lane county, was named, was printed in the *Dighton Herald*, July 25, 1940. The article, written in 1936 by a nephew and daughter, Clarence O. and Emma Deighton of Great Bend, describes his life from his arrival in America from England at the age of fourteen to his death in 1916.

The *Wichita Sunday Eagle* of July 28, 1940, issued a ninety-six page edition commemorating sixty-eight years of service to Wichita and the Southwest. While the issue was devoted largely to the city's business and industrial development, it contained the following articles of historical interest: "The *Eagle*, Wichita and the Southwest"; "History of Sedgwick County Parallels That of *Wichita Eagle* for Nearly 70 Years"; "The Early Settlement of the Arkansas Valley; Personal, Municipal and Judicial Reminiscences," a reproduction of a historical article written by Col. Marsh M. Murdock in 1876.

A description of present Marshall county in 1851, written by Howard Stansbury, an early traveler through the Western country, was printed in the *Marshall County News*, Marysville, August 15, 1940. During one day's march, he recorded, the party passed six graves. "Melancholy accompaniments they are of a road silent and solitary at best, and ill calculated to cheer the weary, drooping wayfarers."

The homecoming celebration of teachers, pupils and patrons of the Cranmer school district, near Clyde, reported in the *Clyde Republican*, August 22, 1940, was the occasion for reminiscences of early days. The *Republican* published a brief history of the district, with the names of the 123 persons who attended the reunion.

Reminiscences of the Kansas frontier in the 1870's and 1880's, told by A. Fick and edited by Mildred Cass Beason, were recorded in *The Ellis County News*, Hays, August 22, 1940. Mr. Fick was a German, veteran of the Franco-Prussian War, who came to the

United States in 1872. For a short time he lived in Hays, then in Rush and Ness counties, worked as a ranch-hand in Texas and made the drive up the Texas trail to Kansas, and finally settled in Gove county where he remained until his recent death at the age of ninety-three.

A "Pioneer Days Souvenir Edition" was issued on August 22, 1940, by the Hill City *Times* in observance of Graham county's sixtieth anniversary. Historical articles included a sketch of the county, a list of newspapers since 1879, biographies of pioneer citizens, interesting "firsts" in the county's history, histories of Morland, Hill City and other towns, and accounts of the Millbrook cyclone of 1887 and the prairie fire which nearly destroyed Hill City in 1904.

James Stewart reviewed the early history of Elwood in *The Kansas Chief*, Troy, September 5, 1940. The first settlement on the present townsite was made in 1854, but not until 1856 was a town company organized in St. Joseph, Mo. The town was first named Roseport.

"Some Interesting Early History of Perry and Kentucky Township," first read by J. L. Raines at an old settlers' reunion in 1904, was printed in the *Perry Mirror*, September 12, 1940.

On September 16 and 17, 1940, Atchison was host to the eightieth anniversary celebration of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad. The Atchison *Daily Globe* of September 14 published several historical articles dealing with the city, the railroad and transportation in general, including a biographical sketch of David Rice Atchison, the Missouri senator for whom the town was named; a story of the arrival of the first overland stage in Denver in 1859, when it was part of Kansas territory; a description by Frank A. Root of his second trip from Pennsylvania to Kansas in 1858; a history of the town of Doniphan; episodes in the experiences of Cyrus K. Holliday, founder of the Santa Fe, by J. F. Jarrell, and a history of the development of transportation in Atchison from the establishment of the first ferry in 1855 to the first air mail service in 1938. Pictures of the incorporators, first directors, and the presidents of the Santa Fe were also featured.

An article entitled "Thirty-Fifth Division [composed of national guard units from Kansas and Missouri] Won Glory in France Twenty-Two Years Ago," was printed in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, September 25, 1940.

The El Dorado *Times* on September 25, 1940, issued a thirty-six page edition in observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the discovery of oil in the El Dorado field. Articles of historical interest dealt with the Stapleton "discovery" well, first in the field, the activities of such leaders in the industry as William G. Skelly and his company, Herbert R. Straight and the Cities Service company, and local refineries. Stress was laid on the importance to the community of the oil industry, and sketches of industrial and commercial firms were included.

A story of Old Ben "Don Benito" Hodges, "Dodge City's most picturesque frontier character," was written by Henry L. Carey, of Dodge City, and printed in the Hutchinson *News-Herald*, November 3, 1940. According to Col. R. M. Wright, from whom the author secured his information, Ben was an outlaw horse-and-cattle thief of uncertain age and ancestry who for many years lived by his wits in turbulent Dodge, growing up with the town until his death in 1929.

St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church at Tescott recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, according to the Tescott *News* of November 7, 1940. The church organization became effective November 1, 1890, when a constitution was adopted by the eleven charter members. The Rev. Samuel H. Mollenauer was the first minister. The present congregation numbers 257 persons. Detailed information of the church's history and activities was featured in a golden jubilee souvenir booklet published by the congregation.

Kansas Historical Notes

Eight Kansas Historical Markers were placed on state highways during the three months' period ending October 31, 1940. These are the first of fifty selected by a committee of the Kansas Chamber of Commerce and the State Historical Society. Inscriptions are furnished by the Historical Society. The Kansas State Highway Commission builds, sets up and maintains the markers. Locations and dates of dedication of the first eight are: Shawnee Friends Mission, in roadside park at junction of K-10 and US-50, near Shawnee, Johnson county, August 31, 1940; Pike-Pawnee Village, on US-36 near Republican river bridge in Scandia, Republic county, September 20; Battle of Black Jack, in roadside park on US-50 three miles east of Baldwin, Douglas county, October 8; Highland Presbyterian Mission, on US-36 one-fourth mile east of east city limits of Highland, Doniphan county, October 9; Elwood, on US-36 near east city limits of Elwood, Doniphan county, October 16; Battle of Mine Creek, on US-69 $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles south of Pleasanton, Linn county, October 25; Fort Dodge, on grounds of State Soldiers' Home, US-154, four miles southeast of Dodge City, Ford county, October 25, and St. Marys, on US-24 at the east edge of St. Marys, Pottawatomie county, October 27.

Temporary organization of the Washington County Historical Society was completed at a meeting at Hanover, July 22, 1940. About fifty persons were present, and the following temporary officers were elected: Leo Dieker, president; Ed. J. Flaherty, secretary, and John Merk, treasurer. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and bylaws. A second meeting was held at Hanover, August 26. The chief objective of the society is to acquire and preserve the Hollenberg ranch house, near Hanover, which was built in 1857 and served for many years as a station on the Oregon trail and the Pony Express route. It is said to be the only Pony Express station still standing as it was first built.

The Northwest Kansas Historical Society opened its museum at Colby on August 3, 1940, the display consisting mainly of dishes, dolls, and novelty hobby collections. The present quarters are temporary, and the society expects that a permanent location will be secured when sufficient museum pieces are added.

The first Kansan to become commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, W. W. Nixon of Jewell, was elected on September 12, 1940, at the seventy-fourth annual encampment of the organization held in Springfield, Ill.

Officers of the Riley County Historical Society elected to serve during 1940-1941 are: Judge Fred Smith, president; Mrs. Florence F. Harrop, vice-president; Mrs. F. L. Murdock, secretary; Mrs. Caroline Smith, treasurer; F. I. Burt, custodian, and G. H. Failyer, assistant custodian and historian. The directors are Mrs. Harrop, Mrs. Smith, Judge Smith, Sam C. Charlson, C. M. Correl, C. W. Emmons, S. A. Bardwell and Joe Haines.

New officers of the Ness County Historical Society elected at the annual meeting at Ness City, September 21, 1940, are: Mrs. G. Beardslee, president; Nina Bondurant, vice-president; Nelle Holtom, secretary, and Martha Borthwick, treasurer. The following members were chosen to serve as directors: Luke Pembleton, Belle Cole, J. R. Price, Neoma Henry, Mary Meik, J. C. M. Anderson, J. O'Brien, Lea Maranville, Sylvia Kerr and Belle Unruh. Plans for the coming year were discussed, and arrangements were made for a Hobby Fair held October 19.

The annual election of officers of the Shawnee Mission Indian Historical Society was held September 23, 1940, at the Shawnee Methodist Mission near Kansas City. Mrs. Ross A. Smith of Merriam was chosen president, Mrs. X. Ouray Meyer, vice-president; Mrs. O. Wendell Shepard, recording secretary; Mrs. A. V. Fuller, corresponding secretary; Mrs. C. F. Terry, treasurer; Mrs. Carl Harder, historian, and Mrs. Percy Miller, curator of the museum. Frank C. Wornall of Kansas City, Mo., who was born eighty-five years ago in the north building of the mission, was again appointed supervisor of the society. Officers were formally installed October 28 when the society observed its founder's day. Mrs. Jack Weems Quarrier was the retiring president.

Crawford county is the most recent recruit to the growing list of Kansas counties establishing active organizations for collecting and preserving local history. On September 26, 1940, the Crawford County Historical Society was organized at Pittsburg with an initial membership of forty. Dr. Ralph H. Smith, of the State Teachers College at Pittsburg, was elected the first president. Other officers are H. B. Price, Cherokee, and Mrs. C. D. Gregg, McCune, vice-

presidents; Ralph Shideler, Girard, secretary; and Miss Gunnelia Smith, Cato, treasurer. The committee to nominate a board of directors includes Mrs. O. P. Dellinger, Mrs. J. U. Massey and F. W. Brinkerhoff. Speakers at the meeting were F. W. Brinkerhoff, editor of the Pittsburg *Headlight* and *Sun*, and Dr. C. M. Montee, former mayor of the city. The society plans soon to become affiliated with the Kansas State Historical Society.

At the annual meeting of the Dickinson County Historical Society held at Abilene October 3, 1940, Bert Ramsey of Solomon and Mrs. Claudius Pontius of Enterprise were elected vice-president and secretary respectively, replacing the outgoing officers, Mrs. A. B. Seelye and Mrs. H. M. Howard, whose terms had expired. Walter Wilkins of Chapman spoke on the subject, "Pioneer Landmarks," and presented to the society a large map of Dickinson county on which many pioneer locations are marked. Mrs. Tim Riordan of Solomon showed motion pictures taken by her son Robert at the spring meeting, mentioned in the May *Quarterly*. The president, Mrs. Carl Peterson of Enterprise, conducted the business session.

George T. Dawson of Elmdale was elected president of the Chase County Historical Society at its annual meeting October 5, 1940, at Cottonwood Falls. Other officers are Henry Rogler, vice-president; Mrs. Helen Austin, secretary; T. R. Wells, treasurer, and Mrs. Clara Hildebrand, historian. The executive committee reported that the manuscript of volume one of "Historical Sketches of Chase County" had been delivered to the printer, and that the finished book had been promised for delivery about December 1.

At the annual business meeting of the Hodgeman County Historical Society, held October 18, 1940, in Jetmore, the following officers were elected: L. W. Hubbell, president; Mrs. J. E. Mooney, vice-president; E. W. Harlan, secretary; Mrs. O. L. Teed, treasurer, and Mrs. Margaret Raser, historian. Mrs. Teed, Mr. Harlan and S. H. Pitts were named to three-year terms as directors, and Mrs. Raser was appointed chairman of the program committee. The society intends to mark several historic sites in Hodgeman county and to gather historical data on early county history.

The Rev. Angelus Lingenfelter, O. S. B., secretary of the Kansas Catholic Historical Society, reports that during the past year several historical projects have received encouragement and assistance from his organization. The most noteworthy was that of the Clark County Council of Clubs for the erection of a marker on the site

where a Benedictine monastery was established in 1876. Newspaper and periodical files, scrapbooks, pictures, books and letters have been added to the collections, and the Rev. Peter Beckman has been given continual assistance in preparing his doctoral dissertation on the early Catholic church in frontier Kansas.

One of the few definitive studies in the field of Kansas history was published in June, 1940, by the University of Kansas as the first in a new series of social science publications. *The Birth of Kansas*, by G. Raymond Gaeddert, comprising the major portion of a doctoral dissertation written in 1937 and titled "A History of the Establishment of the Kansas State Government," deals with the political problems of the years 1859-1862, from the period of the establishment of the Republican party in Kansas and the Wyandotte constitutional convention to the close of Governor Robinson's administration. The book is based almost entirely on original manuscripts, public archives and newspapers in the collections of the Kansas State Historical Society. A detailed review of the book, by Cecil Howes, appeared in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Times*, July 2, 1940.

A History of the Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science by the college historian, Dr. Julius T. Willard, was published recently by the Kansas State College Press at Manhattan. The volume of 568 pages is a detailed history of the school since its founding in 1858 as Bluemont Central College and its reorganization as a land-grant institution in 1863. Doctor Willard was born in 1862 only a few miles from the campus. He was enrolled as an undergraduate from 1879 to 1883 and has been a member of the faculty ever since.

John White Geary, Soldier-Statesman, by Harry Marlin Tinkcom (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1940), is a biography of the Mexican War soldier and one-time postmaster and mayor of San Francisco who served during 1856-1857 as the third commissioned governor of Kansas territory. The book is the first of a *Pennsylvania Lives* series published by the University Press.

Errata in Volume IX

Page 17, sixteenth line from bottom, read G. A. Colton.

Page 78, thirteenth line from top and third line from bottom, read *Harper's Weekly*.

Page 111, second paragraph, fifth line from bottom, read McNown instead of McKnown.

Page 133, Footnote No. 69: Pipe Creek station was near the central part of Ottawa county, possibly a short distance north of present Minneapolis.

Page 224, eighteenth and nineteenth lines from top, read Bertram.

Page 330, eighteenth line from top, read Clarinda, Iowa.

Page 331, eighteenth line from top, read Osborne county instead of Russell county.

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